

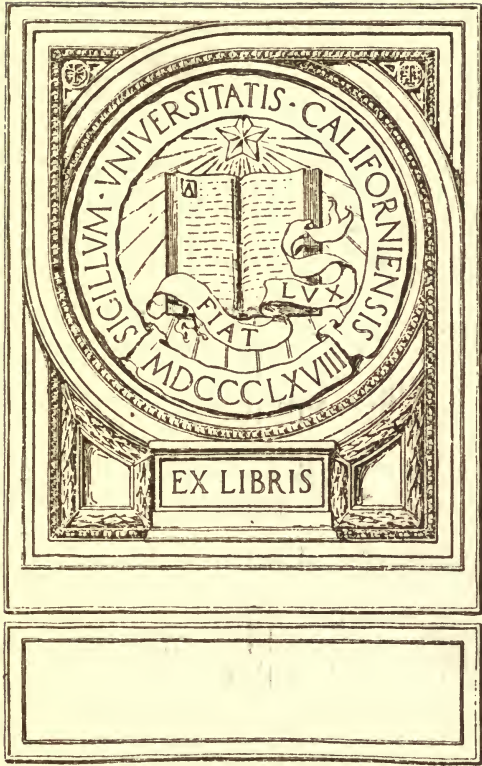
HEART TO HEART
APPEALS

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN



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James D. Melan



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Hon. William Jennings Bryan

(Photograph of portrait painted for the State Department by Irving G. Wiles of New York. It represents Mr. Bryan in the act of presenting to foreign Ambassadors and Ministers his peace plan, which is now embodied in thirty peace treaties with nations exercising authority over three-fourths of the population of the world.)

Heart to Heart Appeals

By
WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

*“ I live for those who love me,
and the good that I can do.”*

—Bradford



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11

These heart to heart appeals, scattered through speeches delivered during a quarter of a century (1890 to 1916), are collected and republished in the belief that they may be of permanent interest to the friends whose continued confidence has been an inspiration and whose constancy has been an ample reward for whatever service I may have been able to render to my country during the eventful days we have been co-laborers in this favored part of the Lord's vineyard.



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I

GOVERNMENT

Ten Fundamental Propositions

I VENTURE to present ten propositions:

1. The social ideal towards which the world is moving requires that human institutions shall approximate towards the divine measure of rewards and this can only be realized when each individual is able to draw from society a reward proportionate to his contribution to society.

2. The form of government which gives the best assurance of attaining this ideal is the form in which the people rule—a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed,—the form described by Lincoln as “A government of the people, by the people and for the people.” This being the people’s government, it is their duty to live for it in time of peace, and die for it, if necessary, in time of war.

3. The chief ^{responsibility} duty of governments, in so far as they are coercive, is to restrain those who would interfere with the inalienable rights of the individual, among which are the right to life, the right to liberty, the right to the pursuit of happiness, and the right to worship God according to the dictates of one’s conscience.

4. In so far as governments are co-operative, they approach perfection in proportion as they adjust with justice the joint burdens which it is necessary to impose and distribute with equity the incidental benefits which

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come from the disbursement of the money raised by taxation.

5. Competition is so necessary a force in business that public ownership is imperative wherever competition is impossible. A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.

6. "Absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority" is, as Jefferson declares, "the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism."

7. As acquiescence in the permanent existence of a wrong is not to be expected, it is the duty of every citizen to assist in securing a free expression of the will of the people, to the end that all abuses may be remedied as soon as possible. No one can claim to be a good citizen who is indifferent. Civic duty requires attendance at primaries and conventions as well as at the polls.

8. The government being the people's business, it necessarily follows that its operations should be at all times open to the public view. Freedom of speech is essential to representative government, and publicity is as essential to honest administration. "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none" is a maxim which should control all departments of government.

9. Each individual finds his greatest security in the intelligence and happiness of his fellows—the welfare of each being the concern of all—and he should therefore exert himself to the utmost to improve conditions for all and to raise the level upon which all stand.

10. While scrupulously careful to live up to his civic responsibilities, the citizen should never forget that the larger part of every human life is lived outside of the domain of government, and that he renders the largest service to others when he brings himself into

harmony with the law of God, who has made service the measure of greatness.

From "The Royal Art."

Coercive and Co-operative

Government has been called "the royal art," although it is more often described as a science, but whether it be viewed as an art or as a science it occupies an increasing place in the thought of civilized man. The theoretical anarchist who talks of the time when each will be a law unto himself and when governments will be no more needed, takes but an incomplete view of the subject. Government may be divided into two parts, namely, that which is coercive and that which is co-operative. It is to be expected that the coercive part of government will diminish with man's development. In every civilized community today but a small portion, and that constantly decreasing, needs to consider the "thou shalt nots" of the criminal statutes. As the virtuous now restrain themselves, and would, even if there were no forbidding statutes, we may expect that, step by step as the world advances, the rigors of penal laws will be abated. We already look back with mingled amusement and wonder at the brutal penalties of a few centuries ago.

But, while penal statutes wane, co-operative government is ever widening. The people find it economical, as well as otherwise helpful, to do together that which each individual could do alone only with greater difficulty and at greater cost.

From "The Royal Art."

Three Forms of Government

Generally speaking, there have been three forms of government, the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the

democracy. Monarchies are, in turn, subdivided into unlimited and limited. There are few unlimited monarchies now outside of the savage tribes, and in limited monarchies new restrictions are being constantly thrown about the executive. No two aristocracies are alike, so numerous are the degrees to be found in this kind of government, and among democracies some are more democratic than others. But, as in monarchies, the tendency is to increase the limitations upon power and, as in aristocracies, the tendency is towards an enlarging of the controlling class, so in democracies the tendency is ever towards more popular government.

In the school books we are told that the monarchy is defended on the ground that it is the strongest of governments, the aristocracy on the ground that it is the wisest, and the democracy on the ground that it is the most just. This recalls the discriminating language used by Plutarch in describing the views which men, in his opinion, entertained towards the gods, namely, that "they feared them for their strength, admired them for their wisdom and loved them for their justice."

It seems hardly necessary to discuss the relative merits of these three forms of government since time, the final arbiter, fights on the side of a government in which the people rule. But it is worth while to quote the reply made by the great historian, Bancroft, to the argument used in the support of monarchies. He said that the republic was in fact the strongest of governments because, discarding the implements of terror, it dared to build its citadel in the hearts of men.

The theory that an aristocracy is the wisest of governments can be answered in two ways: First, that "everybody knows more than anybody"—the wisdom of all the people being greater than the wisdom of any part; and, second, by the fact that wisdom is not the

only requisite in government, or even the most important element, for the wisdom that directs a government is seldom, if ever, entirely separated from a selfish interest that may pervert the judgment. As justice is more important than strength—is in fact the only basis of lasting strength, and is a higher quality than wisdom—superiority must be conceded to a democracy which can boast of being the most just government.

From "The Royal Art."

Two Theories of Representative Government

There are two theories of representative government, namely, the aristocratic and democratic—in fact, these two points of view obtrude themselves no matter what phase of government we consider. The aristocratic theory is that the people are not capable of studying questions for themselves, and therefore select representatives to do their thinking for them; the democratic theory is that the people think for themselves and select representatives to give expression to the thoughts and wishes of the voters. The first theory is dangerous. Whenever a representative desires to put his own interests above the interests of his constituents or the wishes of a few above the rights of the many, he generally prefaces a statement of his attitude with the declaration that he is not a "demagogue" and does not intend to be governed by the clamor of the "unthinking multitude." He sometimes boasts that he is too conscientious to do the things which his constituents desire.

It is worth noting that this sudden manifestation of an abnormal conscience usually comes after the election and the persons in whom it is noticeable are generally conscienceless in the promises that they make and

in the means that they employ to secure an election. *A conscience that hibernates during the campaign and only comes forth when the people are helpless to recall their suffrages,—such a conscience usually reaches the maximum of its sensitiveness when some vested wrong is about to be overthrown.*

From "The Royal Art."

Democrat or Aristocrat, Which?

- There is only one line that can be drawn through society always and everywhere, namely, the line that separates the man who is at heart a democrat from the man who is at heart an aristocrat. I do not use the word democrat in a partisan sense. The word is more than two thousand years older than the democratic party. It describes an attitude of the human heart. Nine-tenths of those who call themselves republicans are at heart democratic and some who call themselves democrats are at heart aristocratic.
- To discover whether any one is at heart a democrat or an aristocrat, tell him the story of Lazarus and Dives and note his comment. If he is a democrat he will try to devise a plan for decreasing the number of the poor; if he is an aristocrat he will say: "What a lucky thing for Lazarus that there was a Dives near to furnish crumbs."
- The democrat believes that society is built from the bottom, the aristocrat thinks society is suspended from the top. The democrat says: Legislate for all the people, for he believes that the prosperity of the masses will find its way up through the classes that rest upon the masses. The aristocrat, believing that society is suspended from the top, says, and he says it honestly—for he believes it: Legislate for the well-to-do and then

be patient and wait until their prosperity leaks through on those below.

From Campaign Speech of 1916.

Democratic Idea of Representative

According to the aristocratic idea, the representative thinks *for* his constituents; according to the democratic idea, the representative thinks *with* his constituents. A representative has no right to defeat the wishes of those who elect him, if he knows their wishes.

From "The Price of a Soul."

No Twilight Zone

I am a strict constructionist, if that means to believe that the federal government is one of delegated powers and that constitutional limitations should be carefully observed. I am jealous of any encroachment upon the rights of the states, believing that the states are as indestructible as the nation is indissoluble. It is, however, entirely consistent with this theory to believe, as I do believe, that it is just as imperative that the general government shall discharge the duties delegated to it, as it is that the states shall exercise the powers reserved to them. *There is no twilight zone between the nation and the state, in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both,* and my observation is that most—not all, but most—of the contentions over the line between the nation and the state are traceable to predatory corporations which are trying to shield themselves from deserved punishment, or endeavoring to prevent needed restraining legislation.

From Speech at Conservation Conference, White House, May 15, 1908.

Restraining Hoggish Tendencies

We never know where we are going to find an idea, and we never know what an idea will do with us when we get it. An idea will revolutionize a man, a community, a nation, a world. So with illustrations,—we gather them from the experience of every day life. We do not know when or where we shall find them, or how valuable they may be.

I am indebted to some hogs for one illustration. I was riding through Iowa, back in the nineties, and saw some hogs rooting in a meadow near the railway track. The first thought that came to me was that the hogs were doing a great deal of damage and this recalled our practice, when I lived on the farm, of putting a ring in the hog's nose. The purpose was not to keep the hog from getting fat; we were more interested in its getting fat than it was. The more quickly it fattened, the sooner it died; the longer it was getting fat, the longer it lived.

Why was the ring put in the hog's nose? For the simple purpose of keeping it from destroying more than it was worth, while it was getting fat. This practice suggested to me that one of the purposes of Government is to put a ring in the nose of the human hog. I do not mean to use the language in an offensive sense, but we are all more or less hoggish. In the hours of temptation we are likely to trespass on the rights of others. Society is interested in each individual's success, but a man must not be allowed to destroy more than he is worth while he is getting rich. Civilization is possible, because man, in his sober moments, is willing to put restraints upon all, including himself, to protect society from human selfishness.

From Chicago Anti-Trust Conference, 1899.

Short Official Terms

Jefferson was an advocate of short terms, as well as of popular elections. He believed that short terms, requiring frequent return of the representative to the people, the source of power, to be conducive to fidelity. It is also a means of insuring more intimate acquaintance with his constituents and a more accurate knowledge of their needs.

From "The Royal Art."

Patriotism above Partisanship

The patriot must desire the triumph of that which is right more than the triumph of that which he may think to be right if he is, in fact, mistaken, and so the partisan, if he be an intelligent partisan, must be prepared to rejoice in his own or his party's defeat if by that defeat his country is the gainer.

From "The Price of a Soul."

The Strength of a Nation

Aye, let us here dedicate ourselves anew to this unfinished work which requires of each generation constant sacrifice and unceasing care. Pericles, in speaking of those who fell in the Peloponnesian war, lauded the loyalty of his countrymen when he said:

"It was for such a country, then, that these men, nobly resolving not to have it taken from them, fell fighting, and every one of their survivors may well be willing to suffer in its behalf."

The strength of a nation does not lie in forts, nor in navies, nor yet in great standing armies, but in happy and contented citizens, who are ever ready to protect for themselves and to preserve for posterity the blessings which they enjoy. It is for us of this generation

so to perform the duties of citizenship that a "government of the people, by the people and for the people" shall not perish from the earth.

From Arlington Memorial Day Oration.

"Righteousness Exalteth a Nation."

— I challenge the doctrine, now being taught, that we must enter into a mad rivalry with the Old World in the building of battleships—the doctrine that the only way to preserve peace is to get ready for wars that ought never to come! It is a barbarous, brutal, unchristian doctrine—the doctrine of the darkness, not the doctrine of the dawn.

Nation after nation, when at the zenith of its power, has proclaimed itself invincible because its army could shake the earth with its tread, and its ships could fill the seas, but these nations are dead, and we must build upon a different foundation if we would avoid their fate.

— Carlyle, in the closing chapters of his "French Revolution" says that thought is stronger than artillery parks and at last molds the world like soft clay, and then he adds that back of the thought is love. Carlyle is right. Love is the greatest power in the world. The nations that are dead boasted that their flag was feared; let it be our boast that our flag is loved. The nations that are dead boasted that people bowed before their flag, let us not be content until our flag represents sentiments so high and holy that the oppressed of every land will turn their faces toward that flag and thank God that there is one flag that stands for self-government and the rights of man.

— The enlightened conscience of our nation should proclaim as the country's creed that "righteousness exalteth a nation" and that justice is a nation's surest

defense. If ever a nation was called to put God's truth to the test, it is ours; if there ever was a time it is now. With an ocean rolling on either side and a mountain range along either coast that all the armies of the world could never climb, we ought not to be afraid to trust in "the wisdom of doing right."

Our government, conceived in freedom and purchased with blood, can be preserved only by constant vigilance. May we guard it as our children's richest legacy, for what shall it profit our nation if it shall gain the whole world and lose "the spirit that prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere"?

From "The Price of a Soul."

The Divine Law of Rewards

There is a Divine law of rewards. When the Creator gave us the earth, with its fruitful soil, the sunshine with its warmth, and the rains with their moisture, He proclaimed, as clearly as if His voice had thundered from the clouds: "Go work, and according to your industry and your intelligence, so shall be your reward." Only where might has overthrown, cunning undermined or government suspended this law, has a different law prevailed. To conform the government to this law ought to be the ambition of the statesman; and no party can have a higher mission than to make it a reality wherever governments can legitimately operate.

From Acceptance Speech, 1908.

The Ideal Republic

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future.

Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident propositions that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares or dares to wear a crown.

Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared.

Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those that sit in darkness.

Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

From "Imperialism."

II

TARIFF

A Revenue Tariff

The whole aim of our party is to secure justice in taxation. We believe that each individual should contribute to the support of the government in proportion to the benefits which he receives under the protection of the government. We believe that a revenue tariff, approached gradually, according to the plan laid down in our platform, will equalize the burdens of taxation, and that the addition of an income tax will make taxation still more equitable. If the republican party is to have the support of those who find a pecuniary profit in the exercise of the taxing power, as a private asset in their business, we ought to have the support of that large majority of the people who produce the nation's wealth in time of peace, protect the nation's flag in time of war, and ask for nothing from the government but even-handed justice.

From Des Moines Tariff Speech, 1908.

Tariff Needed or Not Needed

I submit this proposition: Either a tariff is needed or it is not needed. If a tariff is needed it is in order to add the amount of the tariff to the price of the home article to enable the American manufacturer to compete with the foreign. If it is not needed, who is going

to justify it? Now, which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you say that this tariff is needed and used; or will you say it is not needed and ought to be abolished?

From Tariff Speech of 1892.

The Real Home Industry

When some young man selects a young woman who is willing to trust her future to his strong right arm, and they start to build a little home, that home which is the unit of society and upon which our government and our prosperity must rest; when they start to build this home, and the man who sells the lumber reaches out his hand to collect a tariff upon that; the man who sells paints and oils wants a tariff upon them; the man who furnishes the carpets, table-cloths, knives, forks, dishes, furniture, spoons, everything that enters into the construction and operation of that home—when all these hands, I say, are stretched out from every direction to lay their blighting weight upon that cottage, and the democratic party says, “Hands off, and let that home industry live,” it is protecting the grandest home industry that this or any other nation ever had.

From Tariff Speech, 1892.

The Ground Chunk Illustration

Whenever you see the government, by operation of law, send a dollar singing down into one man's pocket, you must remember that the government has brought it crying up out of some other man's pocket. You might just as well try to raise a weight with a lever without fulcrum as to try to help some particular industry by means of taxation without placing the burden upon the consumer.

Back in Illinois when we were repairing a rail fence,

we would sometimes find a corner down pretty low in the ground, and not wanting to tear down the fence we would raise that fence corner and put a new ground chunk under it. How did we do it? We took a rail, put one end of it under the fence corner, then laid down a ground chunk for a fulcrum. Then we would go off to the end of the rail and bear down; up would go the fence corner—but does anybody suppose there was no pressure on that fulcrum?

That, my friends, illustrates just the operation, as I conceive it, of a protective tariff. You want to raise an infant industry, for instance; what do you do? You take a protective tariff for a lever, and put one end of it under the infant industry that is to be raised. You look around for some good-natured consumer and lay him down for a ground chunk; then you bear down on the rail and up goes the infant industry, but down goes the ground chunk into the ground.

From Tariff Speech of 1892.

Ulysses and the Sirens

It is said that when Ulysses was approaching the island of the Sirens, warned beforehand of their seductive notes, he put wax in the ears of his sailors and then strapped himself to the mast of the ship, so that, hearing, he could not heed. So our friends upon the other side tell us that there is depression in agriculture, and a cry has come up from the people; but the leaders of your party have, as it were, filled with wax the ears of their associates, and then have so tied themselves to the protected interests, by promises made before the election, that, hearing, they can not heed.

From Tariff Speech of 1892.

The Cannibal Tree

Out in the west the people have been taught to worship this protection. It has been a god to many of them. But I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the time for worship has passed. It is said that there is in Australia what is known as the cannibal tree. It grows not very high, and spreads out its leaves like great arms until they touch the ground. In the top is a little cup, and in that cup a mysterious kind of honey. Some of the natives worship the tree, and on their festive days they gather around it, singing and dancing, and then, as a part of their ceremony, they select one from their number, and, at the point of spears, drive him up over the leaves onto the tree; he drinks of the honey, he becomes intoxicated as it were, and then those arms, as if instinct with life, rise up; they encircle him in their folds, and, as they crush him to death, his companions stand around shouting and singing for joy. Protection has been our cannibal tree, and as one after another of our farmers has been driven by the force of circumstances upon that tree and has been crushed within its folds, his companions have stood around and shouted, "Great is protection!"

From Tariff Speech, 1892.

III

INCOME TAX

Principle of Income Tax

THE income tax is not only more fair in principle than a tax upon consumption, but, through the exemption which it contains, in a measure, equalizes the injustice done by the indirect forms of taxation, since those who escape the income tax are the very ones who pay more than their quota through indirect taxation. The graduated rates, increasing with the size of the incomes, carry the approximation towards justice a little further because the larger the income the smaller is the percentage, as a rule, taken by the taxes upon consumption. The graded income tax invokes another principle of government, namely, that in the distribution of the burdens of the government, consideration should be given to the ability of the citizens to contribute; and some have gone further still and defended it on the ground that it tends to discourage large incomes. The government would not, however, have to consider the question of discouraging large incomes if it would only avoid the granting of the privileges and favors out of which abnormal incomes grow.

From "The Royal Art."

(NOTE: The Income Tax amendment and law have since been secured.)

IV

MONEY

Gold, Silver and Paper

IN considering money in its relation to government two things are of paramount importance, first, that the quantity of standard money shall keep pace with population and business, and, second, that the paper money shall be issued and controlled by the government. The quantitative theory of money is now established beyond controversy, the theory being that, other things being equal, prices will rise and fall with the volume of money. The proposition is so self-evident that it is hard to understand how it could have been disputed so recently by men well informed on other subjects.

The quantitative theory puts money upon the same basis as other commodities, the relation of supply and demand being the controlling factor in fixing prices wherever natural laws are free to operate. Where metallic money is used the quantity is partly determined by production, partly by the use of the precious metal in the arts and partly by the legislation which determines the access of metals to the mints, which implies the giving of legal tender quality to the metal when coined.

The advocates of bimetallism employed in the defense of the two metals the academic argument that, as the production of the two metals does not increase or decrease exactly in the same proportion, the unit

has greater stability when it rests upon both metals than when it rests on one metal alone, and also the practical argument that neither metal was to be found in sufficient quantity to make monometalism tolerable. An unexpected and unprecedented discovery of gold, however, has brought into use a quantity of that metal without a parallel in history, and thus secured to the world the advantages which bimetalists endeavored to bring through the restoration of silver.

From "The Royal Art."

The Financial Crisis

Mr. Speaker: I shall accomplish my full purpose if I am able to impress upon the members of the house the far-reaching consequences which may follow our action and quicken their appreciation of the grave responsibility which presses upon us. Historians tell us that the victory of Charles Martel at Tours determined the history of all Europe for centuries. It was a contest "between the Crescent and the Cross," and when, on that fateful day, the Frankish prince drove back the followers of Abderrabman he rescued the west from "the all-destroying grasp of Islam," and saved to Europe its Christian civilization. A greater than Tours is here! In my humble judgment the vote of this house on the subject under consideration may bring to the people of the United States, and to all mankind, weal or woe beyond the power of language to describe or imagination to conceive.

From Speech on Bimetalism, 1893.

The Drummer Boy Illustration

There are thousands, yes, tens of thousands, aye, even millions, who have not yet "bowed the knee to Baal." Let the President take courage. Muehlbach

relates an incident in the life of the great military hero of France. At Marengo the Man of Destiny, sad and disheartened, thought the battle lost. He called to a drummer boy and ordered him to beat a retreat. The lad replied:

“Sire, I do not know how. Dessaix has never taught me a retreat, but I can beat a charge. But I can beat a charge that would make the dead fall into line! I beat that charge at the Bridge of Lodi; I beat it at Mount Tabor; I beat it at the Pyramids; Oh, may I beat it here?”

The charge was ordered, the battle won, and Marengo was added to the victories of Napoleon.

Let our gallant leader draw inspiration from the street gamin of Paris. In the face of an enemy proud and confident the President has wavered. Engaged in the battle royal between the “money power and the common people” he has ordered a retreat. Let him not be dismayed.

He has won greater victories than Napoleon, for he is a warrior who has conquered without a sword. He restored fidelity in the public service; he converted democratic hope into realization; he took up the banner of tariff reform and carried it to triumph. Let him continue the greater fight for “the gold and silver coinage of the constitution,” to which three national platforms have pledged him. Let his clarion voice call the party hosts to arms; let this command be given, and the air will resound with the tramp of men scarred in a score of battles for the people’s rights. Let this command be given and this Marengo will be our glory and not our shame.

From Speech on Bimetallism of 1893.

Blessings or Cursings—Which?

Well has it been said by the senator from Missouri (Mr. Vest) that we have come to the parting of the ways. Today the democratic party stands between two great forces, each inviting its support. On the one side stand the corporate interests of the nation, its moneyed institutions, its aggregations of wealth and capital, imperious, arrogant, compassionless. They demand special legislation, favors, privileges, and immunities. They can subscribe magnificently to campaign funds; they can strike down opposition with their all-pervading influence, and, to those who fawn and flatter, bring ease and plenty. They demand that the democratic party shall become their agent to execute their merciless decrees.

On the other side stands that unnumbered throng which gave a name to the democratic party and for which it has assumed to speak. Work-worn and dust-begrimed, they make their sad appeal. They *hear of average wealth*, increased on every side and *feel the inequality* of its distribution. They see an over-production of everything desired because of the under-production of the ability to buy. They can not pay for loyalty except with their suffrages, and can only punish betrayal with their condemnation. Although the ones who most deserve the fostering care of government, their cries for help too often beat in vain against the outer wall, while others less deserving find ready access to legislative halls.

This army, vast and daily vaster growing, begs the party to be its champion in the present conflict. It can not press its claims 'mid sounds of revelry. Its phalanxes do not form in grand parade, nor has it gaudy banners floating on the breeze. Its battle

hymn is "Home, Sweet Home," its war cry "equality before the law." To the democratic party, standing between these two irreconcilable forces, uncertain to which side to turn, and conscious that upon its choice its fate depends, come the words of Israel's second law-giver: "Choose you this day whom ye will serve." What will the answer be? Let me invoke the memory of him whose dust made sacred the soil of Monticello when he joined

"The dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns."

He was called a demagogue and his followers a mob, but the immortal Jefferson dared to follow the best promptings of his heart. He placed man above matter, humanity above property, and, spurning the bribes of wealth and power, pleaded the cause of the common people. It was this devotion to their interests which made his party invincible while he lived and will make his name revered while history endures. And what message comes to us from the Hermitage? When a crisis like the present arose and the national bank of his day sought to control the politics of the nation, God raised up an Andrew Jackson, who had the courage to grapple with that great enemy, and by overthrowing it, made himself the idol of the people and reinstated the democratic party in public confidence. What will the decision be today? The democratic party has won the greatest success in its history; standing upon this victory-crowned summit, will it turn its face to the rising or the setting sun? Will it choose blessings or cursings, life or death—which? Which?

From Speech on Bimetallism of 1893.

Independent Bimetallism

I ask, I expect, your co-operation. It is true that a few of your financiers would fashion a new figure—a figure representing Columbia, her hands bound fast with fetters of gold and her face turned toward the East, appealing for assistance to those who live beyond the sea—but this figure can never express your idea of this nation. You will rather turn for inspiration to the heroic statue which guards the entrance to your city—a statue as patriotic in conception as it is colossal in proportions. It was the gracious gift of a sister republic and stands upon a pedestal which was built by the American people. That figure—Liberty enlightening the world—is emblematic of the mission of our nation among the nations of the earth. With a government which derives its powers from the consent of the governed, secures to all the people freedom of conscience, freedom of thought and freedom of speech, guarantees equal rights to all, and promises special privileges to none, the United States should be an example in all that is good, and the leading spirit in every movement which has for its object the uplifting of the human race.

From Acceptance Speech of 1896.

(NOTE: The quantitative theory of money has been vindicated by events. Bimetallists pointed out that falling prices were due to a scarcity of money—each dollar buying more as the demand for money outran the supply, and they advocated the restoration of bimetallism, not as an end but as a means to an end—the only means then in sight.

An increase in the supply of money has come—without it a return of prosperity would have been

impossible—but, as it came, not from the restoration of bimetalism but from an unexpected increase in the production of gold, the bimetalists have not received ✓ as much credit as they deserve for the fight they made to secure an adequate supply of money.

This vindication, however, is none the less complete. To show that the result which they desired, and for which they labored with intelligence and earnestness, has followed from causes which no one could have anticipated, I have used this illustration: Suppose the citizens of a town were divided, nearly equally, on the question of water supply, one faction contending that the amount should be increased, and suggesting that the increase be piped from Silver Lake, the only available body of water, the other faction insisting that no more water was needed; suppose that at the election the opponents of an increase won (no matter by what means); and suppose, soon after the election, a spring which may be described as Gold Spring, broke forth in the very center of the city, with a flow of half as much water as the city had before used; and suppose the new supply was turned into the city reservoir to the joy and benefit of all the people of the town. Which faction would, in such a case, have been vindicated?

Just such a result has followed a similar increase in the nation's supply of money, to the joy of all—thus proving the contentions of bimetalists.)

IMPERIALISM

Resolution for Philippine Independence

I WAS among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers, remove the excuse for war expenditures and then give the Filipinos the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty.

— In view of the criticism which my action aroused in some quarters, I take this occasion to restate the reasons given at that time. I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Filipinos than to trust the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy with an unfriendly nation.

— Lincoln embodied an argument in the question when he asked, "Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?" I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected. With the treaty ratified a clean-cut issue is presented between a government by consent and a government by force, and imperialists must bear the responsibility for all that happens until the question is settled.

From a Speech on Imperialism.

(NOTE: This policy was finally adopted sixteen years afterwards when the promise of ultimate inde-

pendence was embodied in the Philippine measure enacted in 1916.)

Christianity against Imperialism

If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives the teachings of Christ, who will say that we are commanded to civilize with dynamite and proselyte with the sword? He who would declare the divine will must prove his authority either by Holy Writ or by evidence of a special dispensation.

Imperialism finds no warrant in the Bible. The command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," has no Gatling gun attachment. When Jesus visited a village of Samaria and the people refused to receive him, some of the disciples suggested that fire should be called down from Heaven to avenge the insult; but the Master rebuked them and said: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Suppose he had said: "We will thrash them until they understand who we are," how different would have been the history of Christianity! Compare, if you will, the swaggering, bullying, brutal doctrine of imperialism with the golden rule and the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Love, not force, was the weapon of the Nazarene; sacrifice for others, not the exploitation of them, was His method of reaching the human heart. A missionary recently told me that the Stars and Stripes once saved his life because his assailant recognized our flag as a flag that had no blood upon it.

Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering

armies, they are going forth to help and uplift, having their loins girt about with truth and their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, wearing the breastplate of righteousness and carrying the sword of the spirit; let it be known that they are citizens of a nation which respects the rights of the citizens of other nations as carefully as it protects the rights of its own citizens, and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extended to the missionaries of any other nation.

From Speech on Imperialism.

Forbidden Fruit

The fruits of imperialism, be they bitter or sweet, must be left to the subjects of monarchy. This is the one tree of which citizens of a republic may not partake. It is the voice of the serpent, not the voice of God, that bids us eat.

From "Naboth's Vineyard."

Apostrophe to Moses

Shame upon a logic which locks up the petty offender and enthrones grand larceny. Have the people returned to the worship of the Golden Calf? Have they made unto themselves a new commandment consistent with the spirit of conquest and lust for empire? Is "thou shalt not steal upon a small scale" to be substituted for the law of Moses?

Awake, O ancient law-giver, awake! Break forth from thine unmarked sepulchre and speed thee back to cloud-crowned Sinai; commune once more with the God of our fathers and proclaim again the words engraven upon the tables of stone—the law that was,

the law that is to-day—the law that neither individual nor nation can violate with impunity!

From Speech on Imperialism.

Destiny

History is replete with predictions which once wore the hue of destiny, but which failed of fulfilment because those who uttered them saw too small an arc of the circle of events. When Pharaoh pursued the fleeing Israelites to the edge of the Red sea he was confident that their bondage would be renewed and that they would again make bricks without straw, but destiny was not revealed until Moses and his followers reached the farther shore dry shod and the waves rolled over the horses and chariots of the Egyptians. When Belshazzar, on the last night of his reign, led his thousand lords into the Babylonian banquet hall and sat down to a table glittering with vessels of silver and gold, he felt sure of his kingdom for many years to come, but destiny was not revealed until the hand wrote upon the wall those awe-inspiring words, "Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin." When Abderrahman swept northward with his conquering hosts his imagination saw the Crescent triumphant throughout the world, but destiny was not revealed until Charles Martel raised the cross above the battlefield of Tours and saved Europe from the sword of Mohammedanism. When Napoleon emerged victorious from Marengo, from Ulm and from Austerlitz, he thought himself the child of destiny, but destiny was not revealed until Blucher's forces joined the army of Wellington and the vanquished Corsican began his melancholy march toward St. Helena. When the red-coats of George the Third routed the New Englanders at Lexington and Bunker Hill there arose before the

British sovereign visions of colonies taxed without representation and drained of their wealth by foreign-made laws, but destiny was not revealed until the surrender of Cornwallis completed the work begun at Independence Hall, and ushered into existence a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

From "America's Mission."

The "destiny" argument is usually the subterfuge of the invertebrate who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. It is a complacent philosophy; it obliterates the distinctions between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstance.

From "America's Mission."

Destiny is not a matter of chance; it is a matter of choice. It is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved.

Man's opinion of what is to be is half wish and half environment. Avarice paints destiny with a dollar mark before it; militarism equips it with a sword.

From "America's Mission."

He is the best prophet who, recognizing the omnipotence of truth, comprehends most clearly the great forces which are working out the progress, not of one party, not of one nation, but of the human race.

From "America's Mission."

American Civilization

Standing upon the vantage ground already gained the American people can aspire to a grander destiny than has opened before any other race.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to protect his own rights, American civilization will teach him to respect the rights of others.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to take care of himself; American civilization, proclaiming the equality of all before the law, will teach him that his own highest good requires the observance of the commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Anglo-Saxon civilization has, by force of arms, applied the art of government to other races for the benefit of Anglo-Saxons; American civilization will, by the influence of example, excite in other races a desire for self-government and a determination to secure it.

Anglo-Saxon civilization has carried its flag to every clime and defended it with forts and garrisons. American civilization will imprint its flag upon the hearts of all who long for freedom.

"To American civilization, all hail!
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

From "America's Mission."

TRUSTS

Private Monopoly

HERE is a plain, candid statement of the party's position. There is no quibbling, no evasion, no ambiguity. *A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.** It is bad—bad in principle, and bad in practice. No apology can be offered for it, and no people should endure it. Our party's position is entirely in harmony with the position of Jefferson. With a knowledge of human nature which few men have equaled and none surpassed, and with extraordinary foresight, he expressed unalterable opposition to every form of private monopoly. The student of history will find that upon this subject, as upon other subjects of government, the great founder of the democratic party took his position upon the side of the whole people and against those who seek to make a private use of government, or strive to secure special privileges at the expense of the public.

From "The Trust Question."

(*NOTE. The sentence: A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, was written into the democratic national platform of 1900 at Mr. Bryan's request and was repeated without change in the platforms of 1904, 1908 and 1912. This sentence, setting forth the democratic policy on the trust question, had its origin in a speech delivered by Mr. Bryan on Sept. 16, 1899, at an anti-trust meeting in Chicago, when he said: "I begin with the declaration that a monopoly in private hands is indefensible from any

standpoint and intolerable. I make no exceptions to the rule.”)

Man vs. The Corporation

There are many differences between the natural man and the corporate man. There is a difference in the purpose of creation. God made man and placed him upon His footstool to carry out a divine decree; man created the corporation as a money-making machine. When God made man He did not make the tallest man much taller than the shortest; and He did not make the strongest man much stronger than the weakest; but when the law creates the corporate person that person may be an hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a million times stronger than the God-made man. When God made man He set a limit to his existence, so that if he was a bad man he could not be bad long; but when the corporation was created the limit on age was raised, and it sometimes projects itself through generation after generation.

When God made man He gave him a soul and warned him that in the next world he would be held accountable for the deeds done in the flesh; but when man created the corporation he could not endow that corporation with a soul, so that if it escapes punishment here it need not fear the hereafter. And this man-made giant has been put forth to compete with the God-made man. We must assume that man in creating the corporation had in view the welfare of society, and the people who create must retain the power to restrict and to control. We can never become so enthusiastic over the corporation, over its usefulness, over its possibilities, as to forget the God-made man who was here first and who still remains a factor to be considered.

From Speech before Chicago Association of Commerce.

VII

LABOR

Secretary of Labor

A LONG step toward the elevation of labor to its proper position in the nation's deliberations is to be found in the establishment of a department of labor, with a cabinet officer at its head. The wage-earners deserve this recognition, and the executive is entitled to the assistance which such an official could render him. I regard the inauguration of this reform as the opening of a new era in which those who toil will have a voice in the deliberations of the President's council chamber.

From Labor Day Speech at Chicago.

(NOTE: The Department of Labor has since been created.)

Labor Organization

✓ The trust and the labor organization can not be described in the same language. The trust magnates have used their power to amass swollen fortunes, while no one will say that the labor organization has as yet secured for its members more than their share of the profits arising from their work. But there are fundamental differences. The trust is a combination of dollars; the labor organization is an association of human beings. In a trust a few men attempt to control the product of others; in a labor organization, the members unite for the protection of that which

is their own, namely, their own labor, which, being necessary to their existence, is a part of them. The trust deals with dead matter; the labor organization deals with life and with intellectual and moral forces.

From Labor Day Speech at Chicago.

Government by Injunction

✓ All that is sought is the substitution of trial by jury for trial by judge when the violation of the court's decree must be established by evidence.

Not only is the prosecution for contempt a criminal prosecution, but there is even more reason for a jury than in the ordinary criminal case. In the criminal court the judge acts in a judicial capacity only. He is not responsible for the law which is being enforced in his court, and therefore he has no personal grievance against the defendant, and, not being the prosecutor in the case, he does not feel a personal interest in the result of the trial; but in a contempt proceeding the judge is the lawmaker and the public prosecutor as well as the judge.

From Labor Day Speech at Chicago.

? (NOTE: Government by injunction has since been abolished.)

The Eight-hour Day

But important as that was, I do not regard it as most important. The greatest effect was the support it gave to the eight-hour day in the United States. While the immediate beneficiaries of this law will number only between three hundred and four hundred thousand, every wage earner in the nation is a participant in the benefits of this law, for it has brought that struggle to a successful issue. It has been a long struggle. If you will read the platforms of the parties

you will find that as far back as eight years ago both of the great parties declared in favor of an eight-hour day. I put myself on record as in favor of an eight-hour day years ago. I believe in it. These laboring men are a part of our community; they are a part of our business life; they are part of our political life, and they have a right to live up to all the possibilities of American citizenship. If you drive the laboring man from his bed to his work and from his work back to his bed again, how is he to know the comforts of home life? And how is he to prepare himself for the discharge of the duties of citizenship? It is a farce to say to the laboring man that he is a citizen and then allow him to be denied opportunity to prepare himself to enjoy the things you give him. The eight-hour day is now a fact, and it has been established under the leadership of a President who wisely used the opportunity presented.

From Campaign Speech, 1916.

A Lesson from the Flower

Can the rosebud, blooming in beauty, despise the roots of the bush through which it draws its lifeblood from the soil? As little can those in the parlor and the drawing-room afford to forget the men and women who toil in the kitchen, field and factory that the world may have food and clothing.

New York Speech, 1899.

VIII

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS

The Gateway to Other Reforms

“**S**HALL the people rule?” Every remedial measure of a national character must run the gauntlet of the senate. The President may personally incline toward a reform; the house may consent to it; but as long as the senate obstructs the reform, the people must wait. The President may heed a popular demand; the house may yield to public opinion; but as long as the senate is defiant, the rule of the people is defeated. The democratic platform very properly describes the popular election of senators as “the gateway to other national reforms.” Shall we open the gate, or shall we allow the exploiting interests to bar the way by the control of this branch of the federal legislature?

From Acceptance Speech of 1908.

(NOTE: Popular election of senators has since been secured.)

IX

PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

“Let there be Light”

AN election is a public affair. The people, exercising the right to select their officials and to decide upon the policies to be pursued, proceed to their several polling places on election day and register their will. What excuse can be given for secrecy as to the influences at work? If a man, pecuniarily interested in “concentrating the control of the railroads in one management,” subscribes a large sum to aid in carrying the election, why should his part in the campaign be concealed until he has put the officials under obligation to him? If a trust magnate contributes \$100,000 to elect political friends to office with a view to preventing hostile legislation, why should that fact be concealed until his friends are securely seated in their official positions?

This is not a new question; it is a question which has been agitated—a question which the Republican leaders fully understand—a question which the Republican candidate has studied, and yet he refuses to declare himself in favor of the legislation absolutely necessary, namely, legislation requiring publication *before the election*.

How can the people hope to rule if they are not able to learn, until after the election, what the predatory interests are doing? The Democratic Party meets the issue honestly and courageously. It says:

“We pledge the Democratic Party to the enactment of a law, prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund, and any individual from contributing an amount above a reasonable maximum, and providing for the publication, *before election*, of all such contributions above a reasonable minimum.”

The Democratic national committee immediately proceeded to interpret and apply this plank, announcing that no contributions would be received from corporations, that no individual would be allowed to contribute more than \$10,000, and that all contributions above \$100 would be made public *before the election*—those received before October 15th to be made public on or before that day, those received afterward to be made public on the day when received, and no such contributions to be accepted within three days of the election. The expenditures are to be published after the election. Here is a plan which is complete and effective.

From Acceptance Speech, 1908.

? (NOTE: This reform has since been secured.)

X

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Value of the Initiative and Referendum

GREAT progress has been made of late in the coercing of legislators into obedience to the popular will. The initiative and referendum, brought into this country from Switzerland, are being rapidly adopted by the states, and are justifying their adoption. Under the initiative the people are enabled, through the right of petition, to compel the submission of any proposition upon which they wish to vote, the vote, when taken, having the same effect as the vote of the legislature. The referendum provides a means by which the people can, by petition, secure an opportunity to sit in judgment upon the actions of the legislature—a negative vote, when so taken, nullifying the law passed.

Of the two, the initiative is by far the more important, because through it the people can not only inaugurate legislation but can repeal legislation that has been enacted.

From "The Royal Art."

XI

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

The Mother Argument

THE strongest argument in favor of woman suffrage is the mother argument. I love my children—as much, I think, as a father can; but I am not in the same class with my wife. I do not put any father in the same class with the mother in love for the child. If you would know why the mother's love for a child is the sweetest, tenderest, most lasting thing in the world, you will find the explanation in the Bible: "Where your treasures are there will your heart be also."

The child is the treasure of the mother; she invests her life in her child. When the mother of the Gracchi was asked: "Where are your jewels?" she pointed to her sons. The mother's life trembles in the balance at the child's birth, and for years it is the object of her constant care. She expends upon it her nervous force and energy; she endows it with the wealth of her love. She dreams of what it is to do and be—and, O, if a mother's dreams only came true, what a different world this world would be! The most pathetic struggle that this earth knows is not the struggle between armed men upon the battlefield; it is the struggle of a mother to save her child when wicked men set traps for it and lay snares for it. And as long as the ballot is given to those who conspire to rob the home of a child it is not fair—no one

can believe it fair—to tie a mother's hands while she is trying to protect her home and save her child. If there is such a thing as justice, surely a mother has a just claim to a voice in shaping the environment that may determine whether her child will realize her hopes or bring her gray hairs in sorrow to the grave.

Because God has planted in every human heart a sense of justice, and because the mother argument makes an irresistible appeal to this universal sense, it will finally batter down all opposition and open woman's pathway to the polls.

From Washington Banquet Speech, 1916.

Man's Partner at the Polls

The wife is the husband's partner in the finances of the family—she helps him to lay away money for a rainy day.

The wife is the husband's partner in the raising of the family—she has the care of the body, the mind and the soul of the child.

The wife is the husband's partner in all his plans and aspirations—no one so loyal and faithful as she. Why should she not be his partner at the polls?

From Campaign Speech, 1916.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION

The Christian's Reasons

THE Christian has three reasons for abstaining from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and the reasons ought to appeal to those outside of the church.

First: Having given himself in service to his Maker and his Saviour, the Christian can not afford to impair the value of that service by the use of alcohol. Neither can he afford to contract a habit which may in his case, as it has in the case of millions of others, destroy both the capacity and the disposition to serve.

Second: He can not afford to spend any money on intoxicating liquor when there are so many worthy causes in need of funds. How can a Christian pray "Thy will be done," and rise up and spend on alcohol money that might then be used to advance God's kingdom on earth?

Third: The Christian can not afford to put his example on the side of the use of intoxicating liquor. He will have enough to answer for before the judgment day without having a soul, ruined by drink, lay the blame upon his example. If Paul could say, "If eating meat maketh my brother to offend I shall eat no meat," surely the Christian can say: "If drinking maketh my brother to offend, I shall not drink."

A New Year's Resolve

The custom of "turning over a new leaf" on New Year's day is a commendable one—the old one is likely to be unsightly even when we have done our best. It is helpful to take an annual inventory and see just what unsalable stock we have on hand and what we need in the way of new goods. It is well to make new resolves—even little resolves are good, but why not big ones? Why not the biggest of all? And what is the biggest of all resolves? Is it not the resolve that contemplates the greatest possible improvement? Here is a resolve for the new year—have you a better one?

Conscious of my responsibility to God for every thought and word and deed, and in duty bound to render to my fellowmen the largest possible service as the best evidence of my love for my Heavenly Father, I resolve to strive during the remainder of my life to increase my capacity for usefulness. *To this end I will give up any practice or habit that tends to weaken my body, impair the strength of my mind or lower my moral purpose, and I will not only endeavor to cultivate habits of industry in both body and mind but will seek and follow worthy ideals.*

Water

— "All hail to the drink of drinks—to water, the daily need of every living thing! It ascends from the earth in obedience to the summons of the sun, and descends in showers of blessings. It gives forth of its sparkling beauty to the fragrant flower; its alchemy transmutes base clay into golden grain; it is the radiant canvas upon which the fingers of the Infinite traces the rainbow of promise. It is the beverage that re-

freshes and brings no sorrow with it. Jehovah looked upon it at creation's dawn and said "It is good."

— *From Total Abstinence Speech, N. Y., 1915.*

Temperance Pledge

Pledge: *We, the undersigned, promise, God helping us, never to use intoxicating liquor as a beverage.*

Reply to Japanese Admiral

At the Togo reception at Tokio, 1905, Mr. Bryan was drinking an admiral's health in water. To the latter's suggestion that he use champagne, Mr. Bryan replied: "You won your victories on water and I drink to your health in water; whenever you win any victories on champagne I shall drink to your health in champagne." The incident became known in Japan and the National Temperance Society presented Mr. Bryan a badge in recognition of his service to the cause.

Nebraska's Standard

In every battle it has been on the firing line. By your command I have borne it; I have been proud of you, and proud of these things for which we have fought. Examine that standard; there is no stain upon it; it has never been trailed in the dust since you gave it to me. I shall not lower it now. We never espoused a more righteous cause than that which now appeals to us; we never faced an enemy more deserving of attack than that which it attempting to corrupt our party and control our state. If a retreat is to be sounded, it must be sounded by another. I shall not do it—never, never, never.

From Speech on "County Option," Nebraska State Convention, 1910.

Prohibition

All legislation against the sale of liquor, from the slightest restrictions to complete prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, rests upon the fact that alcohol is a poison which, when taken into the system, saps the strength of the body, impairs the energies of the mind and menaces the morals. No normal brain needs alcohol to stimulate it to action; no one is so strong but that the appetite may overcome him; there is no day between infancy and death when it is safe to form the habit. The sentiment in favor of prohibition, local, state and national, is growing because increased intelligence and an awakening conscience unite in condemning the license system.

No community would permit the existence of an institution which, merely for profit, cut off fingers, toes, hands and feet; why should any community permit the existence of the saloon which, for the money to be made by it, cripples the body, enfeebles the brain, and destroys the morals?

No community would license a person to scatter the germs of hog cholera among hogs; why should any community license a saloon to spread disease and death among human beings, and, through tainted blood, close the door of hope to innocent children before they see the light of day?

But, besides being an economic fallacy, the license system involves a moral responsibility. If a saloon can not exist except by the consent of the people, then every one who, by voting to license the saloon, helps to bring it into existence must share with the liquor dealer responsibility for the harm done by the saloon. The voters throughout the land are, in increasing

numbers, refusing to enter into such a partnership. And this hostility to the saloon is intensified rather than diminished by the threat of the liquor dealers to sell in spite of the statute. Lawlessness is not attractive to the American, and then, too, a "blind tiger" is not as dangerous to the youth of the land as a tiger that can see. Illicit sales in dark alleys, if there be some under prohibition, are not as great a menace as the open saloon which, planting itself on a principal street and boasting that it is a legitimate business, sends out its agents to bring in new recruits to take the place of the drunkards it kills off.

From Prohibition Campaign Speech, 1916.

The Nation's Need

I do not agree with those who fear attack from abroad, but there is one kind of preparation in which I am willing to join. If this nation ever goes to war, its supreme need will be men—men whose brains are clear, men whose nerves are steady, men who have no appetite to rob them of their love of country in their nation's crucial hour. Let us unite and drive alcohol out of the United States; then, if war comes, every American can render the maximum of service to his country. And, if war does not come, this kind of preparation can be used in the arts of peace.

From Prohibition Speech, 1916.

XIII

ISSUES PAST AND PRESENT

Democracy's Deeds and Duty

“Out of the twilight of the past
We move to a diviner light,
For nothing that is wrong can last,
Nothing's immortal but the right.”

I can find nothing in the masculine vocabulary that expresses my grateful appreciation; let me borrow a woman's phrase and say “It is sweet of you,” my good friends, to assemble about this hospitable board and cheer my heart with your smiles and generous words. I am conscious, of course, that you are guilty of gross exaggeration but I will not chide you. Language, as well as metal, expands under the influence of heat, and the warmth of our mutual regard has quite naturally affected the speeches.

It is necessary, too, that a man in public life should be over-praised by his associates to make up for unmerited abuse from his opponents; having had my full share of criticism, I need an excess of praise.

You credit me with what others have done because you do not know them so well. In politics, as in war, the generals get the glory while the enlisted men die in the trenches. At Arequipa, Peru, Harvard University has erected an observatory and mounted a telescope. When we visited it we were shown a

photograph of what was thought to be a star but which proved to be a cluster of more than four thousand stars whose rays commingled to form the shaft of light. So, with the influence attributed to me; it is the combined influence of many millions with whom I have had the honor to be a co-laborer—some of whom delight me by their presence on this happy occasion.

We meet to-night amid a very pleasing environment. The Democratic victory of 1912 summoned to Washington a group of deserving democrats, whose presence has perceptibly raised the political temperature of the nation's capital.

We are happy also in meeting at the close of another campaign, which has resulted in a victory so substantial that it makes permanent the reforms secured. The victory also vindicates our party's faith in the intelligence and patriotism of the people—how could they have failed to record their approval of the splendid achievements of President Wilson, in co-operation with a Democratic Senate and House?

A RECORD WITHOUT A PARALLEL

The last two decades have witnessed remarkable progress in economic reforms. Here is a list of the more important ones.

1. The popular election of United States' Senators—the gateway to other reforms.

2. An income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution, followed by an income tax law that equalizes taxation.

3. A reduction in import duties—the best tariff law in fifty years.

4. Currency reform—the greatest piece of constructive legislation enacted during this generation. It

frees business from the despotism of high finance and politics from the grip of Wall Street.

5. This includes the restoration to the government, of the sovereign right to issue paper money.

6. A rural credits law, that gives the farmer his first opportunity to borrow on long time, and at approximately what money is worth in the market.

Two anti-trust laws :

7. One creates a Trade Commission ; and

8. The other, built on the theory that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, lays the axe at the root of the tree.

9. A shipping law which, by the creation of a government-owned merchant marine, enables the people to lay out new trade routes and to protect themselves from extortionate freight rates on the sea.

10. A Child Labor law which restrains the money-mad employer from stunting the body and dwarfing the mind of the child of this generation, who is to be the citizen of the next generation.

11. An eight-hour day law, which protects the wage earner in his right to reasonable time for the enjoyment of home and for preparation for the responsibilities of citizenship ; and

12. Abolition of Government by Injunction—or, stated in another way, the recognition of the right of trial by jury when the alleged contempt is not committed in the presence of the Court.

13. The list can not be concluded without mention of the new Philippine law which, by giving to the Filipinos the promise of ultimate independence, relieves the United States of the suspicion of having abandoned the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and enables it to resume its proper place among the nations as the foremost champion of the

doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

14. And, last of the reforms to which attention will be called now, the thirty peace treaties which, by providing for investigation of *all* international disputes, make war between the contracting parties a remote possibility.

CAUSE—THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

It is worth while to inquire as to the cause of this record of progressive measures without a parallel in number and importance. What impelling force is responsible for this remarkable advance? When Mrs. Bryan and I visited South America some seven years ago, we were deeply impressed by one of the most weird of the many phenomena in nature's varied exhibit.

As we ascended the Andes, in Southern Peru, we found on the western slope, at an altitude of thirty-five hundred feet, a bench or plain, eighteen miles wide and several hundred miles long. Scattered over this plain as far as the eye could reach were innumerable dunes of white sand, differing in size but uniform in shape—crescents, with the points toward the mountain beyond, and, what was most awe-inspiring, these dunes marched inland with the precision of an army at the rate of two hundred feet a year!

I inquired the cause, and was informed that at that point a constant trade-wind, blowing from the Pacific, carries the fine sand from the seashore up to this level plane, forms it into crescent-shaped dunes, and then sweeps these formations across the plain to the mountains.

And so we may explain the political progress of the world. The Spirit of Democracy is the strong

and constant trade-wind, so to speak, that carries the masses, like grains of sand, from the sea level of inaction to the heights of political effort. It is the spirit of Democracy that has inspired us and impelled us to do our small part in this mighty task, and the same spirit will impel those who will take up the work when our brief day is ended.

When we understand the past we can judge the future. The surveyor can tell the point that will be reached by an established line when extended a certain distance. We do not call it prophecy: it is merely the announcement of a conclusion that follows necessarily from the application of mathematical rules. The laws that operate in the political world are equally irresistible and are as constantly at work. The people have faith in themselves. They believe, not only in their *right to self-government* but in their *capacity for self-government*. And they desire to control the instrumentalities of government for one purpose and for one purpose only, namely, to protect their inalienable rights and to safeguard their welfare. If, therefore, any reform is proposed which has for its object the enlargement of the people's power or the bringing of the government nearer to the people, its final triumph is as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun.

How soon? No one can accurately estimate the time required; it is much easier to know the direction of the wind than to measure its velocity. The time varies according as the information spreads rapidly or slowly.

COMING REFORMS

1. And this brings me to the reform most imperatively needed just now, namely, a national bulletin,

issued by the Federal Government at intervals, say, monthly between campaigns and weekly during campaigns, and sent free to all voters. Government by the consent of the governed approaches perfection in proportion as the governed are informed, and we can not afford to leave the voters longer wholly dependent upon a press under partisan control at best, or, worse still, under the control of favor-seeking corporations. A government publication under bipartisan management and giving editorial space, suitably proportioned, to authorized representatives of all parties of recognized standing, would seem to furnish the most available means of supplying the information needed by the voter for the intelligent discharge of his political duties.

2. Another reform: experience has shown the need of changing or, at least, so improving our cumbersome electoral machinery as to make it impossible for the will of the people to be thwarted by act or ineligibility of an elector. Kansas has removed one danger by requiring the vote to be cast for the electors as a group, rather than as individuals, but to increase the probability that the majority candidate will always receive a majority in the electoral college—the country barely escaped an opposite result this year—we should make the electoral unit correspond with the Congressional District rather than with the state. The state should elect two at large, as now, and each district one. This or some better change is needed.

3. A third reform in harmony with the right of the people to rule would make the Federal Constitution more easily amendable. Instead of requiring two-thirds of both houses for the submission of an amendment and the consent of three-fourths of the states to its ratification, it might to be sufficient to secure a

majority of both houses for submission—it would even be better to require a majority at two successive sessions than to continue the present requirement of two-thirds at one session—and ratification by the voters in a majority of the states, provided the proposition also receives a majority of the total vote cast upon the amendment in all the states. Such a provision would protect the equal rights of the states and, at the same time, protect the rights of the people as a whole.

4. The war has shown the need of a fourth reform, namely, a constitutional amendment giving a referendum on a declaration of war, except in case of *actual invasion* of the country. This reform would not only reduce the probability of war here but would suggest to the war-ridden people of Europe a means of protecting themselves from wars commenced in haste, or waged for the benefit of ambitious monarchs or avaricious merchants. It is better to aid European nations by example than to join them in attempting to preserve peace by an increasing display of force.

5. The extension of suffrage to women on equal terms with men. All the presumptions are on the side of equal suffrage. Woman has measured up to the responsibilities of wife, mother, partner in the family finances, teacher, church worker and member of society—and she has so fully met the requirements of the voter where she now votes that equal suffrage has never been abandoned where it has been tried. No one can fairly question the mother's right to a voice in shaping the environment of her child.

The country needs woman's influence at the polls even more than woman needs the ballot. Women, who suffer most from the saloon and from war, will furnish the additional votes necessary to make the

country saloonless and to create a public opinion which will ensure to this nation primacy in the promotion of world peace.

✓ 6. National Prohibition.

When an issue is born it must be met; the prohibition issue is here. Twenty-three states are already dry and several more will be dry before spring. The line is drawn and parties as well as voters must take their stand on one side or the other—on the side of the home, the citadel of the people, or on the side of the saloon, the greatest enemy of the home. There is no middle ground.

This is the greatest moral issue of this generation; our party can not afford to take the immoral side of it—it will not do so. All I am in politics, or hope to be, I owe to the Democratic Party; I love it too well to remain silent when an effort is being made to commit it to the championship of the breweries, the distilleries and the saloons. Its success—its very life—depends upon its being right; we can not permit it to die of delirium tremens or to be buried in a drunkard's grave.

I have mentioned the more important reforms in sight—reforms which involve the principles of popular government and which, when secured, will advance the interest of the whole people. They are worthy of the best efforts of a militant Democracy—a Democracy whose past achievements are a pledge of future fidelity to the common weal.

And, while we strive for reforms attainable, we must be on our guard against any backward step, either in the direction of militarism, with universal army training as its chief cornerstone, or in the direction of centralization—a danger made imminent by the effort to vest in the Federal Government exclusive

control over the railroads. It is the duty of Democracy to hold the ground already taken and to press forward to new victories "that a government of the people, by the people and for the people may not perish from the earth."

*Abstract of Speech at Complimentary Dinner given
Mr. Bryan at Washington, D. C., Dec. 6th,
1916.*

XIV

CHICAGO CONVENTION

The Armor of Righteousness

I WOULD be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity.

From Chicago Convention Speech, 1896.

Definition of a Business Man

We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer; ~~the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis;~~ the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day—who begins in the spring and toils all summer—and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; ~~the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon~~

the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business men as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this larger class of business men.

From Chicago Convention Speech, 1896.

The Pioneers of the West

Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—the pioneers away out there (pointing to the west), who rear their children near to Nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their young, churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where rest the ashes of their dead—these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak.

From Chicago Convention Speech, 1896.

The Challenge

We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

From Chicago Convention Speech, 1896.

Crown of Thorns; Cross of Gold

My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without awaiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth; and upon that issue we expect to carry every state in the Union. I shall not slander the inhabitants of the fair state of Massachusetts nor the inhabitants of the state of New York by saying that, when they are confronted with the proposition, they will declare that this nation is not able to attend to its own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors, when but three millions in number, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation; shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy millions, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, that will never be the verdict of our people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good, but that we can not have it until other nations help us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we will restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has it. If they dare to come out into the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

From the Chicago Convention Speech.

XV

ST. LOUIS CONVENTION

I Have Kept the Faith

EIGHT years ago a democratic national convention placed in my hand the standard of the party and commissioned me as its candidate. Four years later that commission was renewed. I come tonight to this democratic national convention to return the commission. You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight, you may dispute whether I have finished my course, but you can not deny that I have kept the faith.

From St. Louis Convention Speech, 1904.

Militarism

Governor Black, of New York, in presenting the name of President Roosevelt to the republican convention, used these words:

“The fate of nations is still decided by their wars. You may talk of orderly tribunals and learned referees; you may sing in your schools the gentle praises of the quiet life; you may strike from your books the last note of every martial anthem, and yet out in the smoke and thunder will always be the tramp of horses and the silent, rigid, upturned face. Men may prophesy and women pray, but peace will come here to abide forever on this earth only when the dreams of childhood are accepted charts to guide the destinies of men.

“Events are numberless and mighty, and no man

can tell which wire runs around the world. The nation basking today in the quiet and contentment of repose may still be on the deadly circuit and tomorrow writhing in the toils of war. This is the time when great figures must be kept in front. If the pressure is great the material to resist it must be granite and iron."

This is a eulogy of war. This is a declaration that the hoped-for, prayed-for, era of perpetual peace will never come. This is an exalting of the doctrine of brute force; it darkens the hopes of the race.

This republican president, a candidate for re-election, is presented as the embodiment of the war-like spirit as "the granite and iron" that represent modern militarism.

Do you, men of the east, desire to defeat the military idea? Friends of the south, are you anxious to defeat the military idea? Let me assure you that not one of you, north, east, or south, fears more than I do the triumph of that idea. If this is the doctrine that our nation is to stand for, it is retrogression, not progress. It is a lowering of the ideals of the nation. It is a turning backward to the age of violence. More than that, it is nothing less than a challenge to the Christian civilization of the world.

From St. Louis Convention Speech, 1904.

Appeal for Democracy

And I close with an appeal from my heart to the hearts of those who hear me: Give us a pilot who will guide the democratic ship away from the Scylla of militarism without wrecking her upon the Charybdis of commercialism.

From St. Louis Convention Speech, 1904.

XVI

BALTIMORE CONVENTION

Democracy—Pillar of Fire and Cloud

THE democratic party has led this fight until it has stimulated a host of republicans to action. I will not say they have acted as they have because we acted first; I will say that at a later hour than we, they caught the spirit of the times and are now willing to trust the people with the control of their own government.

We have been traveling in the wilderness; we now come in sight of the promised land. During all the weary hours of darkness progressive democracy has been the people's pillar of fire by night; I pray you, delegates, now that the dawn has come, do not rob it of its well-earned right to be the people's pillar of cloud by day.

From Baltimore Convention Speech on "Chairmanship."

The Morgan Resolution

Mr. Chairman: I have here a resolution which should, in my judgment, be acted upon before a candidate for president is nominated, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration:

"Resolved, That in this crisis in our party's career and in our country's history this convention sends greetings to the people and assures them that the party

of Jefferson and Jackson is still the champion of popular government and equality before the law. As proof of our fidelity to the people we hereby declare ourselves opposed to the nomination of any candidate for President who is a representative of, or under any obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class.

“Be it further resolved, That we demand the withdrawal from this convention of any delegate or delegates constituting or representing the above-named interests.”

This is an extraordinary resolution, but extraordinary conditions require extraordinary remedies. We are now engaged in the conduct of a convention that will place before this country the democratic nominee, and I assume that every delegate in this convention is here because he desires that nominee elected.

It is that we may advance the cause of our candidate that I present this resolution. There are questions of which a court takes judicial notice, and there are subjects upon which we can assume that the American people are informed. There is not a delegate in this convention who does not know that an effort is being made right now to sell the democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests of this country. It is the most brazen, the most insolent, the most impudent attempt that has been made in the history of American politics to dominate a convention, stifle the honest sentiment of a party and make the nominee the bond-slave of the men who exploit the country.

I need not tell you that J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, and August Belmont are three of the men who are connected with the great money trust now under investigation, and that they are despotic in their

rule of the business of the country and merciless in their command of their slaves.

Some one has said that we have no right to demand the withdrawal of delegates who come here from a sovereign state.

I reply that if these men are willing to insult six and a half million of democrats by coming here we ought to be willing to speak out against them and let them know we resent the insult.

I, for one, am not willing that Thomas F. Ryan and August Belmont shall come here with their paid attorneys and seek secret counsel with the managers of our party. No sense of politeness or courtesy to such men will keep me from endeavoring to protect my party from the disgrace that they bring upon it.

I can not speak for you. You have your own responsibility, but if this is to be a convention run by these men; if our nominee is to be their representative and tool, I pray you to give us, who represent constituencies that do not want this, a chance to go on record with our protest against it. If any of you are willing to nominate a candidate who represents these men or who is under obligation to these men, do it and take the responsibility. I refuse to take that responsibility.

It is not necessary for the gentleman from Virginia to deliver a eulogy upon his state. My father was born in Virginia and no one has greater reverence for that great commonwealth than I. I know, too, the sentiment of the people of Virginia. They have not only supported me in three campaigns, but in the last campaign they refused to allow their leading men to go to the convention except under instructions to vote for my nomination. Neither is it necessary for me to defend my reputation as a democrat. My reputation would not be worth defending if it were necessary to

defend it against a charge made against me by any friend of Thomas F. Ryan.

The resolution is not only sober and serious, but it is necessary. We plant ourselves upon the Bible doctrine, "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." The party needs to cut off those corrupting influences to save itself.

From Baltimore Convention Speech on Morgan-Ryan-Belmont Resolution.

On Changing to Wilson

The delegates for whom I speak stand ready to carry out the instructions given, in the spirit in which they were given and upon the conditions under which they were given; but these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any man whose nomination depends upon the vote of the New York delegation. Speaking for myself and those who join me, we, therefore, withhold our vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him, and I hereby notify the chairman and this convention that I desire recognition to withdraw these votes from any candidates to whom New York's votes are thrown. The position that we take in regard to Mr. Clark we will take in regard to any other candidate whose name is now, or may come before the convention. We shall not be parties to the nomination of any man, no matter who he may be or from what section of the country he comes, who will not, when elected, be absolutely free to carry out the anti-Morgan-Ryan-Belmont resolution and make his administration reflect the wishes and hopes of those who believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Now, I am prepared to announce my vote, with the

understanding that I stand ready to withdraw my vote from the candidate for whom I now cast it if Mr. Murphy casts the ninety votes of New York for him. I cast my vote for Nebraska's second choice—Governor Wilson.

From Baltimore Convention Speech.

The Valedictory

Mr. Chairman and members of the convention: You have been so generous with me in the allowance of time that I had not expected to trespass upon your patience again, but the compliment that has been paid me by the gentleman from the District of Columbia justifies, I hope, a word in the form of a valedictory.

For sixteen years I have been a fighting man. Performing what I regarded as a public duty I have not feared to speak out on every public question before the people of the nation for settlement, and I have not hesitated to arouse the hostility of individuals where I felt it my duty to do so in behalf of my country.

I have never advocated a man except with gladness and I have never opposed a man except in sadness. If I have any enemies in this country, those who are my enemies have a monopoly of hatred. There is not one single human being for whom I feel ill-will; nor is there one American citizen in my own party or in any other whom I would oppose for anything unless I believed that in not opposing him I was surrendering the interests of my country, which I hold above any person.

I recognize that a man who fights must carry scars and I decided long before this campaign commenced that I had been in so many battles and had alienated so many persons that my party ought to have the leader-

ship of someone who had not thus offended and who might, therefore, lead with greater hope of victory.

Tonight I come with joy to surrender into the hands of the one chosen by this convention a standard which I have carried in three campaigns, and I challenge my enemies to say that it has ever been lowered in the face of the foe. The same belief that led me to prefer another for the presidency rather than to be a candidate myself, leads me to prefer another for the vice-presidency.

It is not because the vice-presidency is lower in importance than the presidency that I decline. There is no office in this nation so low that I would not accept it if I could serve my country by so doing. But I believe that I can render more service when I have not the embarrassment of a nomination and the suspicion of a selfish interest—more service than I could as a candidate, and your candidate will not be more active in this campaign than I shall be. My services are at the command of the party. I feel relieved that the burden of leadership is transferred to other shoulders.

From Baltimore Convention Speech.

“No One Need Be a Slave”

And what a joy it is to meet these congenial spirits, assembled here from every part of this country! One never appreciates that man is made in the image of his Creator until he comes into contact with a heaven-born soul—a man who is not afraid to die. An ancient proverb says that “No one need be a slave who has learned how to die.” The trouble with so many men is that they do not believe in a resurrection. They do not seem to know that Truth can not die; that no grave can confine it. I saw a lot of brave men at Chicago, fighting for the people. We have a lot of brave men

here fighting on the same side. May their tribe increase!

From Comment on Baltimore Convention.

(NOTE: The Baltimore convention was coerced by the Democratic sentiment at home. According to the best information obtainable, about one hundred and ten thousand telegrams were received by the delegates, or an average of nearly one hundred each. I received eleven hundred and eighty-four, signed by more than thirty-three hundred persons. My part was turning the faucet, so to speak, so that public opinion could flow in upon the convention.)

XVII

PAN-AMERICA

United States Aids Cuban Independence

LET me borrow a story which has been used to illustrate the position of the United States: A man wended his way through the streets of a great city. Unmindful of the merchandise exposed on every hand he sought out a store where birds were kept for sale. Purchasing bird after bird he opened the cages and allowed the feathered songsters to fly away. When asked why he thus squandered his money, he replied: "I was once a captive myself, and I find pleasure in setting even a bird at liberty."

The United States once went through the struggle from which you have just emerged; the American people once by the aid of a friendly power won a victory similar to that which you are now celebrating, and our people find gratification in helping to open the door that barred your way to the exercise of your political rights.

I have come to witness the lowering of our flag and the raising of the flag of the Cuban republic; but the event will bring no humiliation to the people of my country, for it is better that the stars and stripes should be indelibly impressed upon your hearts than that they should float above your heads.

From speech delivered at Havana, Cuba, at inauguration of first president, 1902.

The Banyan Tree

In the procession which escorted President-elect Palma to his home when he returned from exile, a number of Cuban ladies represented the republics of the western hemisphere, the United States being the eldest, Cuba the youngest of the group. It reminded me of the great banyan tree under which our party rested for a moment as we passed through Key West; for are not these republics much like the banyan tree? Free government was planted upon American soil a century and a quarter ago; it grew and sent forth its influence like branches in every direction, and these branches taking root now support the parent tree; beneath the influence of these republics, separate in their government and yet united in their aspirations an ever-increasing multitude finds shelter and protection. Long live the International banyan tree—the American Republics!

From the "Birth of the Cuban Republic."

Neighbors—Friends

The Lord has made us neighbors; let justice make us friends.

Motto suggested for Pan-American Union.

Co-operation

Mr. President and Members of the Congress:

Allow me to preface my remarks by saying that my object in attending this session of the Pan-American Scientific congress is not so much to make an address as to meet the distinguished delegates here assembled and to testify by my presence to my deep and continuing interest in all that relates to the republics of Central and South America. My concern in their development

and welfare, while antedating my connection with the state department, was increased during my occupancy of office, and it has not abated since my retirement. I desire to be enrolled among the permanent friends of these neighboring republics, and shall hold myself in readiness to respond to their call whenever I can render them any assistance.

In casting about for a theme for my brief remarks today it occurred to me that the word "co-operation" might well serve as the point about which to group certain suggestions, for which I ask your consideration.

Co-operation is the growing word of the twentieth century. There is noticeable everywhere an increasing tendency on the part of individuals and nations to act together in matters of mutual concern. In business life the idea is accentuated by the multiplicity of corporate organizations, in which individuals associate themselves together for the advancement of their joint interests. Nations, too, are more and more considering matters of common interest, and lending to each other the assistance that comes from joint action. While the unprecedented struggle now raging across the Atlantic has for the time being interrupted international co-operation in that section of the world, it should be regarded as a temporary suspension of co-operation rather than a permanent surrender of the idea.

Co-operation in the western hemisphere has been more general than in the east because of the greater similarity of our institutions and political aims, and also because of the absence of the issues and prejudices which have made international dealings less intimate there than they are on this side of the ocean. Then, too, the present conflict in Europe has tended to draw the republics of the western hemisphere nearer together, as

their dependence upon, and their power to aid, each other have become more apparent.

With this introduction permit me to suggest a few lines of action along which I believe it is possible for us, with mutual advantage, to co-operate to a larger extent than we do now.

First, the language tie which binds nations together is a strong one; ability to speak to, and understand, each other lies at the foundation of both business and social intercourse. The two languages spoken in the Americas are the growing languages of the present century. The rapid increase in the population of the United States would alone greatly increase the English-speaking population of the world during the next century, and, in addition to this, the use of the English tongue is rapidly spreading in the Orient and in the commercial centers of the world. As the Central and South American countries are likely to repeat during this century the development witnessed in the United States during the past century, the Spanish language seems destined to fill an increasing place in the world's future.

Every possible encouragement should, therefore, be given to the teaching of the English language in Latin America and to the teaching of Spanish in the United States. There are several ways in which this encouragement can be given. An exchange of professors would be an advantage. If arrangements could be made by which the colleges and universities of Central and South America would accept American instructors in return for Latin-speaking instructors sent to the United States, the temporary exchange would not only be helpful in extending the two languages but a larger acquaintance would follow, and acquaintance is, after all, the most essential thing in the improvement

of international relations, whether business, social or political.

Encouragement could also be given to the study of the two languages by colleges, especially by those located in the southern part of the United States and in the northern republics of Latin America, where special inducements could be offered foreign students. The United States, for instance, could establish in Porto Rico, Panama and at accessible points along the Gulf coast, schools in which special attention would be given to the teaching of the Spanish language and Spanish history, and the Latin speaking nations could in return offer similar inducements to students from the north. In these special schools young men from the United States intending to go South and young men in the southern countries planning to come North could meet and, while preparing themselves for their work, acquire that personal acquaintance which contributes so largely to success.

Another suggestion. While a large vocabulary is of course desirable, still comparatively few words are **absolutely** necessary for the carrying on of conversation **and** correspondence. A few months ago I suggested to a number of representatives of Latin America the advisability of attempting *to introduce into each of the two languages the more important words of the other language*. The suggestion received so much encouragement that I venture to submit it here. Five hundred English words introduced into the Spanish dictionary, as synonyms for Spanish words have the same meaning, and the introduction of a like number of Spanish words into the English dictionary would lead to the gradual absorption by people of all the countries of the most necessary words of the two languages and would make it easier for representa-

tives of the different republics to talk to and understand each other without special training. Even a smaller number of words might be selected as a beginning. If the suggestion commends itself to this congress a commission can be appointed to formulate the plan.

The opening of the Panama canal has accentuated the possibility of larger trade between North and South America, and the interruption of existing lines of transportation has made more obvious the necessity of co-operation between the United States and Central and South America in the establishment of trade routes.

Secretary McAdoo has taken up the matter and is endeavoring to secure authority to establish a *government controlled merchant marine*, for the double purpose of laying out new trade routes and providing against interruptions like those which have occurred during the past eighteen months. I am sure that all of our neighboring republics will give hearty commendation to the plan and I hope that the governments of Central and South America will consider the advisability of adopting a similar policy. If each government represented here will act to the limit of its ability a new impetus will be given to inter-American traffic, to the benefit of all.

The establishment of the same monetary unit throughout the western hemisphere has long been discussed and there is no doubt that it would greatly facilitate exchange between the countries. The currency law now in force in the United States has, by authorizing the establishment of branch banks in foreign lands, greatly aided in the improvement of trade conditions, but as it will require some years to realize to the full the advantages made possible by

this law, it is worth while to consider whether it would not be wise for the American governments to *facilitate exchange* by an arrangement under which they would cable to each other deposits made with them to cover foreign purchases.

I ask your pardon for repeating here a suggestion which I made last June at a banquet given in connection with the Pan-American Commercial congress then assembled in Washington. It is that the government of the United States should, if desired by any of the republics of Latin America, underwrite bonds issued by them for the development of their resources. During my connection with the state department I had opportunity to learn of the enormous burden thrown upon the smaller republics of Central and South America by the high interest rates which they were compelled to pay, and I became convinced that these high interest rates not only worked an injustice to the countries that paid them and retarded the proper development of those countries, but that these loans, often the best that could be secured under existing conditions, sometimes caused insurrections and revolutions. After dealing with these conditions officially for two years I reached the conclusion that the government of the United States could show its good will toward Latin America in no better way than by playing the part of a prosperous friend to these republics, by lending its credit to support loans necessary for legitimate development work. The United States, being able to borrow at a low rate, could *accept the bonds of neighboring republics drawing a much lower rate of interest than those now issued, and hold them as security for its own bonds, issued at the normal rate.* To illustrate what I mean, let us suppose a case. If one of the republics of Central or South America,

now paying 6 per cent interest or more, desired to enter upon some work of development, it could issue its bonds drawing, say $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and our government could accept them as security for its own bonds drawing 3 per cent, or such higher rate as the market demanded, the difference between the rate paid by the borrowing republic and the rate paid on the United States bonds to be turned into a sinking fund to retire the development bonds. This plan would give to the borrowing countries the advantage of the credit of the United States and enable them to make a large *immediate* saving in interest, besides the saving that would accrue to them in the retirement of their bonds. Such assistance could be rendered by the United States without any appreciable risk, and it would not only aid the republic assisted but it would furnish conclusive proof of this country's disinterested friendship.

This congress has already under consideration the possibility of co-operation in the defense of the western hemisphere as embodied in the proposition recently submitted by the President through Secretary Lansing, which contemplates a joint convention providing for investigation of all diplomatic differences and the arbitration of boundary disputes among the republics of America—a convention which will go far toward removing the possibility of armed conflict between them. This evolution of the Monroe Doctrine, enforced by the United States alone, into Pan-Americanism, supported by all the American republics jointly, will not only insure solidarity of sentiment but will, by the union of their strength, lessen the expenditures necessary for their protection from possible attempts at invasion, especially since the danger of invasion is decreased in proportion as the pressure of population

in Europe has been reduced by the enormous loss of life occasioned by the war. The proposed convention between the American republics will also make it certain that the republics of the western hemisphere will not, by participation in the forcible settlement of European quarrels, surrender their right to exclude European nations from armed interference in any disputes that may arise between the American republics.

In conclusion permit me to express the deep gratification which I feel at the spirit of co-operation and friendship which have made possible the treaties already negotiated between the United States and the Latin speaking republics. The plan providing for investigation of disputes of every character was submitted to all of the nations of the world at the same time, but to Latin America fell the honor of first accepting the proposal. The republic of Salvador signed a treaty of this kind on the 8th of August, 1913, and Guatemala, Panama, Honduras and Nicaragua followed in the order named. It was not until after these five treaties had been concluded with Latin American republics that the first treaty with a European nation was negotiated, viz., the one with The Netherlands, signed on the 18th of December following.

We now have thirty of these treaties connecting us with nations exercising authority over three-quarters of the people of the globe. Nearly all of the republics of Central and South America are included in the thirty countries and the plan embodied in these treaties has been followed in the treaty recently entered into between Brazil, Argentina and Chile.

These treaties, being all inclusive, leave no dispute which can become the cause of war without a period of investigation, and it is confidently hoped that this

period of investigation will in every case enable the countries to reach a satisfactory agreement.

And when could the example set by the western republics be more timely? While Europe, rent with passion, is in the throes of a struggle more bloody and costly than any which the world has before known, peace prevails in the Americas. On the north of us there is an unfortified boundary line of 3,000 miles and our nation has relieved our neighbors on the south of any fears that they may have had of invasion or conquest by us. Nor is our nation alone in giving evidence of peaceful intentions. On the boundary line between Argentina and Chile there stands an heroic figure, the Christ of the Andes, erected by joint contributions of the citizens of the two republics, a proof of present amity and a pledge of future friendship. God grant that all the American republics, one in their reverence for God and in their worship of His Son, identical in their aspirations and similar in their governmental methods, may in the spirit of brotherhood forever co-operate in the advancement of the material, intellectual and moral welfare of the western world—honorable rivals in helpfulness and service. They are joint tenants of a new land, neighbors in a new country, and are united by ties of interest as well as by ties of sentiment. *“What God hath joined together let no man put asunder.”*

From an address delivered before the Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington, D. C., January 3, 1916.

XVIII

IN FOREIGN LANDS

London Peace Speech

I WILL not disguise the fact that I consider this resolution (presenting the peace treaty plan, afterwards incorporated in the thirty peace treaties, providing for the investigation of *all* disputes) a long step in the direction of peace, nor will I disguise the fact that I am here because I desire this Interparliamentary Union to take just as long a step as possible in the direction of universal peace. We meet in a famous hall; looking down upon us from these walls are pictures that illustrate not only the glory that is to be won in war, but the horrors that follow war. There is a picture of one of the great figures in English history (pointing to the fresco by Maclise of the death of Nelson). Lord Nelson is represented as dying, and around him are the mangled forms of others. I understand that war brings out certain virtues. I am aware that it gives opportunity for the display of great patriotism; I am aware that the example of men who give their lives for their country is inspiring; but I venture to say that *there is as much inspiration in a noble life as there is in an heroic death*, and I trust that one of the results of this Interparliamentary Union will be to emphasize the doctrine that a life devoted to the public, and over-flowing, like a spring, with good, exerts an influence upon the human race and upon the

destiny of the world as great as any death in war. And, if you will permit me to mention one whose career I watched with interest and whose name I revere, I will add that in my humble judgment, the sixty-four years of spotless public service of William Ewart Gladstone will, in years to come, be regarded as rich an ornament to the history of this nation as the life of any man who poured out his blood upon a battlefield.

London Peace Congress Speech, 1916. 1906

Lifting by Example

On the walls of the temple at Karnak an ancient artist carved the likeness of an Egyptian king; the monarch is represented as holding a group of captives by the hair, the other hand raising a club as if to strike a blow. What king would be willing to confess himself so cruel today? In some of the capitals of Europe there are monuments built of, or ornamented with, cannon taken in war; this form of boasting, once popular, is still tolerated, though it must in time give way to some emblem of victory less suggestive of slaughter. As we are gathered tonight in England's capital, permit me to conclude with a sentiment suggested by a piece of statuary which stands in Windsor Castle. It represents the late lamented Queen Victoria leaning upon her royal consort; he has one arm about her, and with the other hand is pointing upward. The sculptor has told in marble an eloquent story of strength coupled with tenderness, of love rewarded with trust, of sorrow brightened by hope, and he has told the story so plainly that it was scarcely necessary to chisel the words: "Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way." It was a beautiful conception—more beautiful than that which gave to the world the Greek

Slave, the Dying Gladiator, or the Goddess Athene, and it embodies an idea which, with the expanding feeling of comradeship, can be applied to the association of nations, as well as to the relations that exist between husband and wife. Let us indulge the hope that our nation may so measure up to its great opportunities, and so bear its share of the White Man's Burden, as to earn the right to symbolize its progress by a similar figure. If it has been allured by Providence to higher ground, may it lead the way, winning the confidence of those who follow it, and exhibiting the spirit of Him who said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me."

From London Fourth of July Speech, 1906.

An International Ideal

The world is coming to understand that armies and navies, however numerous and strong, are impotent to stop thought. Thought inspired by love will yet rule the world. I am glad that there is a national product more valuable than gold or silver, more valuable than cotton or wheat or corn or iron—an ideal. That is merchandise—if I may call it such—that moves freely from country to country. You can not vex it with an export tax or hinder it with an import tariff. It is greater than legislators, and rises triumphant over the machinery of government. In the rivalry to present the best ideal to the world, love, not hatred, will control; and I am glad that on this Thanksgiving Day I can meet my countrymen and their friends here assembled, return thanks for what my country has received, thanks for the progress that the world has made, and contemplate with joy the coming of that day when the rivalry between nations will be, not to see

which can injure the other most, but to show which can hold highest the light that guides the footsteps of the human race to higher ground.

From Thanksgiving Day Address in London.

Radical and Conservative

We have found many curious things in this country, but Mrs. Bryan and I have been especially interested in what they call the "Korean Lions." I do not know whether other Americans have been impressed by these, but we shall take two Korean lions home with us (if we can secure a pair) and put them as a guard in front of our house. The Korean lions are interesting for several reasons, and one of the most important is that they represent the affirmative and the negative. I noticed today that one of them had his mouth open as though he were saying "yes," and the other had his mouth tightly closed as if he had just said "no." Both the affirmative and the negative are necessary. You find everywhere the radical and the conservative. Both are essential in a progressive state. The conservative is necessary to keep the radical from going too fast, and the radical is necessary to make the conservative go at all. One is as necessary to the welfare of the nation as the other. There must be a party in power, and there must be a party out of power, although I think that, for convenience sake, they ought to change places occasionally. When a party goes into power it is apt to be more conservative than when out of power, and when a party goes out of power it is likely to become more radical. I might give a number of reasons for it. In the first place, responsibility tends to make a party more deliberate—it sobers it. Then, too, a party that is defeated often

learns from the victor how to win, and sometimes the successful party learns from the defeated one.

From Tokio Speech at Ambassador's dinner; Marquis Ito, premier, and Count Okuma, leader of the opposition, were among the guests.

The Cloisonné Illustration

Of all the artistic work done in Japan, the Cloisonné ware pleases me most—possibly because it so perfectly illustrates the process of development through which we all pass.

There is first the vase, then the tracing of the design upon it, then the filling in of the colors, and, finally, the polishing that brings out the beauty.

And so with the individual. There is first the basic material of body and mind, then comes the selection of the ideals that control the life. Then follows the filling in of the moral qualities that give tone and color, and, finally, the polish that comes with education and experience. All these are necessary to the finished product.

Speech at Keio College in Tokio, 1905.

XIX

PEACE

The Thirty Peace Treaties

THERE are five fundamental propositions which run through all the treaties, namely (1) that investigation shall be resorted to in *all* cases not otherwise provided for; (2) the Commission is *permanent* and ready to be invoked at any time; (3) the investigation is to be concluded within *one year* unless the time is changed by mutual consent; (4) the parties agree *not to declare war or begin hostilities* until the investigation has been made; but (5) *they reserve the right to act independently after* the investigation is completed.

It is believed that these treaties will go far towards making war a remote possibility, for it will be difficult for nations to engage in war after a year's deliberation. *Diplomacy is the art of keeping cool*, and the period provided for investigation not only permits the subsidence of passion and the restoration of reason, but it gives time for the operation of that public opinion, which more and more condemns the use of force and exalts the processes of reason. Time also enables impartial judges to separate questions of fact from questions of honor—a most important task, since the line between the two is quite sure to be obscured when anger and prejudice are aroused. Instead of using

the ultimatum, we are adopting the motto: *Nothing is final between friends.*

From "The Message from Bethlehem."

Mr. Bryan's Letter of Resignation

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

It is with sincere regret that I have reached the conclusion that I should return to you the commission of secretary of state with which you honored me at the beginning of your administration.

Obedient to your sense of duty and actuated by the highest motives, you have prepared for transmission to the German government a note in which I can not join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war.

I, therefore, respectfully tender my resignation to take effect when the note is sent, unless you prefer an earlier hour. Alike desirous of reaching a peaceful solution of the problems arising out of the use of submarines against merchantmen, we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which should be employed.

It falls to your lot to speak officially for the nation; I consider it to be none the less my duty to endeavor as a private citizen to promote the end which you have in view by means which you do not feel at liberty to use.

In severing the intimate and pleasant relations which have existed between us during the past two years, permit me to acknowledge the profound satisfaction which it has given me to be associated with you in the im-



The plowshares which Secretary Bryan has had made and presented to each of the thirty diplomats who signed with him treaties for investigation in all cases, are made of steel and nickel-plated. The steel is composed of melted swords; this explains the inscription on the plowshares—"They shall beat their swords into plowshares."

portant work which has come before the state department, and to thank you for the courtesies extended.

With heartiest good wishes for your personal welfare and for the success of your administration, I am, my dear Mr. President, very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

Washington, June 8, 1915.

Two Points of Difference

My reason for resigning is clearly stated in my letter of resignation, namely, that I may employ as a private citizen the means which the President does not feel at liberty to employ. I honor him for doing what he believes to be right, and I am sure that he desires, as I do, to find a peaceful solution of the problem which has been created by the action of the submarines.

Two of the points on which we differ, each conscientious in conviction, are:

First, as to the suggestion of investigation by an international commission, and,

Second, as to warning Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels or with cargoes of ammunition.

I believe that this nation should frankly state to Germany that we are willing to apply in this case the principle which we are bound by treaty to apply to disputes between the United States and thirty countries with which we have made treaties providing for investigation of all disputes of every character and nature.

These treaties, negotiated under this administration, make war practically impossible between this country and these thirty governments, representing nearly three-fourths of all the people of the world.

Among the nations with which we have these treaties are Great Britain, France and Russia. No matter what

disputes may arise between us and these treaty nations, we agree that there shall be no declaration of war and no commencement of hostilities until the matters in dispute have been investigated by an international commission and a year's time is allowed for investigation and report. This plan was offered to all the nations without any exception whatever, and Germany was one of the nations that accepted the principle, being the twelfth, I think, to accept. No treaty was actually entered into with Germany, but I can not see that that should stand in the way when both nations endorsed the principle. I do not know whether Germany would accept the offer, but our country should, in my judgment, make the offer.

Such an offer, if accepted, would at once relieve the tension and silence all the jingoes who are demanding war. Germany has always been a friendly nation, and a great many of our people are of German ancestry. Why should we not deal with Germany according to this plan to which the nation has pledged its support?

The second point of difference is as to the course which should be pursued in regard to Americans traveling on belligerent ships or with cargoes of ammunition.

Why should an American citizen be permitted to involve the country in war by traveling upon a belligerent ship when he knows that the ship will pass through a danger zone? The question is not whether an American citizen has a right under international law to travel on a belligerent ship; the question is whether he ought not, out of consideration for his country, if not for his own safety, avoid danger when avoidance is possible.

It is a very one-sided citizenship that compels a government to go to war over a citizen's rights, and yet

relieves the citizen of all obligations to consider his nation's welfare. I do not know just how far the President can go legally in actually preventing Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, but I believe the government should go as far as it can, and that in case of doubt it should give the benefit of the doubt to the government.

But even if the government could not legally prevent citizens from traveling on belligerent ships, it could, and in my judgment should, earnestly advise American citizens not to risk themselves or the peace of their country, and I have no doubt that these warnings would be heeded.

President Taft advised Americans to leave Mexico when insurrection broke out there, and President Wilson has repeated the advice. This advice, in my judgment, was eminently wise, and I think the same course should be followed in regard to warning Americans to keep off vessels subject to attack.

I think too, that American passenger ships should be prohibited from carrying ammunition. The lives of passengers ought not to be endangered by cargoes of ammunition, whether that danger comes from possible explosions within or from possible attacks from without. Passengers and ammunition should not travel together. The attempt to prevent American citizens from incurring these risks is entirely consistent with the effort which our government is making to prevent attacks from submarines.

The use of one remedy does not exclude the use of the other. The most familiar illustration is to be found in the action taken by municipal authorities during a riot. It is the duty of the mayor to suppress the mob and to prevent violence, but he does not hesitate to warn citizens to keep off the streets

during the riots. He does not question their right to use the streets, but, for their own protection and in the interest of order, he warns them not to incur the risks involved in going upon the streets when men are shooting at each other.

The President does not feel justified in taking the action above suggested. That is, he does not feel justified, first, in suggesting the submission of the controversy to investigation, or, second, in warning the people not to incur the extra hazards in traveling on belligerent ships or on ships carrying ammunition. And he may be right in the position he has taken, but as a private citizen I am free to urge both of these propositions and to call public attention to these remedies in the hope of securing such an expression of public sentiment as will support the President in employing these remedies if in the future he finds it consistent with his sense of duty to favor them.

From statement issued after resignation as Secretary of State.

Persuasion vs. Force

To the American People :

You now have before you the text of the note to Germany—the note which it would have been my official duty to sign had I remained secretary of state. I ask you to sit in judgment upon my decision to resign rather than to share responsibility for it. I am sure you will credit me with honorable motives, but that is not enough. Good intentions could not atone for a mistake at such a time, on such a subject and under such circumstances. If your verdict is against me, I ask no mercy; I deserve none if I have acted unwisely. A man in public life must act accord-

ing to his conscience, but however conscientiously he acts he must be prepared to accept without complaint any condemnation which his own errors may bring upon him; he must be willing to bear any deserved punishment from ostracism to execution. But hear me before you pass sentence.

The President and I agree in purpose; we desire a peaceful solution of the dispute which has arisen between the United States and Germany. We not only desire it, but with equal fervor we pray for it, but we differ irreconcilably as to the means of securing it. If it were merely a personal difference, it would be a matter of little moment, for all the presumptions are on his side—the presumptions that go with authority. He is your President; I am a private citizen without office or title—but one of 100,000,000 inhabitants.

But the real issue is not between persons; it is between systems, and I rely for vindication wholly upon the strength of the position taken.

Among the influences which governments employ in dealing with each other there are two which are pre-eminent and antagonistic — force and persuasion. Force speaks with firmness and acts through the ultimatum; persuasion employs argument, courts investigation and depends upon negotiation. Force represents the old system—the system that must pass away; persuasion represents the new system—the system that has been growing, all too slowly, it is true, but growing, for 1,900 years. In the old system war is the chief cornerstone—war which at its best is little better than war at its worst; the new system contemplates a universal brotherhood established through the uplifting power of example.

If I correctly interpret the note to Germany, it con-

forms to the standards of the old system rather than to the rules of the new, and I cheerfully admit that it is abundantly supported by precedents—precedents written in characters of blood upon almost every page of human history. Austria furnishes the most recent precedent; it was Austria's firmness that dictated the ultimatum against Serbia which set the world at war. Every ruler now participating in this unparalleled conflict has proclaimed his desire for peace and denied responsibility for the war, and it is only charitable that we should credit all of them with good faith. They desired peace, but they sought it according to the rules of the old system. They believed that firmness would give the best assurance of the maintenance of peace, and faithfully following precedent, they went so near the fire that they were, one after another, sucked into the contest.

Never before have the frightful follies of this fatal system been so clearly revealed as now. The most civilized and enlightened—aye, the most Christian—of the nations of Europe are grappling with each other as if in a death struggle. They are sacrificing the best and bravest of their sons on the battlefield; they are converting their gardens into cemeteries and their homes into house of mourning; they are taxing the wealth of today and laying a burden of debt on the toil of the future; they have filled the air with thunderbolts more deadly than those of Jove, and they have multiplied the perils of the deep. Adding fresh fuel to the flame of hate, they have daily devised new horrors, until one side is endeavoring to drown non-combatant men, women and children at sea, while the other side seeks to starve non-combatant men, women and children on land. And they are so absorbed in alternate retaliations and in competitive cruelties that

they seem, for the time being, blind to the rights of neutrals and deaf to the appeals of humanity. A tree is known by its fruit. The war in Europe is the ripened fruit of the old system.

This is what firmness, supported by force, has done in the Old World. Shall we invite it to cross the Atlantic? Already the jingoes of our own country have caught the rabies from the dogs of war. Shall the opponents of organized slaughter be silent while the disease spreads?

As an humble follower of the Prince of Peace, as a devoted believer in the prophecy that "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," I beg to be counted among those who earnestly urge the adoption of a course in this matter which will leave no doubt of our government's willingness to continue negotiations with Germany until an amicable understanding is reached, or at least until, the stress of war over, we can appeal from Philip drunk with carnage to Philip sobered by the memories of an historic friendship and a recollection of the innumerable ties of kinship that bind the Fatherland to the United States.

Some nation must lift the world out of the black night of war into the light of that day when "swords shall be beaten into plowshares." Why not make that honor ours? Some day—why not now?—the nations will learn that enduring peace can not be built upon fear—that good will does not grow upon the stalk of violence.

Some day the nations will place their trust in love, the weapon for which there is no shield; in love, that suffereth long and is kind; in love, that is not easily provoked, that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; in love which,

though despised as weakness by the worshippers of Mars, abideth when all else fails.

From statement issued after resignation as Secretary of State.

The War in Europe and Its Lessons for Us

THE WAR AS IT IS

No matter by what standard you measure this war, it is without precedent or parallel. I will not call it the *greatest* war in history, for the word great implies something more than bigness. When we speak of a great institution or a great movement, we have in mind something more than mere size. There have been, I think, greater wars than this, but none that approached it in bigness. It is the biggest war ever known if we measure it by the population of the nations at war—never before have so many people lived in belligerent nations. It is also the biggest war of which history tells if we measure it by the number of enlisted men who face each other upon its many battlefields. The estimates run from twenty-one to thirty-one millions. Rather than risk exaggeration, let us take the lowest estimate; it is sufficient to make the war impressive. In fact, the number is so great that the mind can scarcely comprehend it. Let me translate it into everyday language by comparing it with our voting population. We have never cast as many as twenty-one million votes at an election. That means that if all in every state who have on a single day exercised the right of suffrage could be gathered together in one place, the concourse, vast as it would be, would fall several millions short of the number now actually engaged in fighting.

More than three million have been wounded thus

far. If on any part of the globe one hundred thousand persons were swept to death by pestilence, or flood, or famine, the world would stand appalled; and yet, in a little more than a year, more than thirty times one hundred thousand have been summoned to meet their God, and every one owes his death to the deliberate intent and act of a fellowman. More than ten millions have been wounded—this will give you some idea of the awful toll that this awful war is exacting in life and suffering.

It is biggest, too, if we measure it by its cost—more than four hundred millions each week. They have borrowed forty billions and spent enough to build an hundred Panama canals.

If we measure the war by the destructiveness of the implements employed, nothing so horrible has ever been known before. They used to be content to use the earth's surface for the maneuvers of war, but now they have taken possession of the air, and drop death-dealing bombs as if from the clouds on unsuspecting people. And they have taken possession of the ocean's depths as well, and torpedoes rise from out the darkness to menace the lives of those who travel on the sea. They have substituted a long-range rifle for a short-range rifle, a big-mounted gun for a little-mouthed gun, a dreadnaught for a battleship, and a super-dreadnaught for a dreadnaught, to which they have added the submarine. And they now pour liquid fire on battle lines and suffocate soldiers in the trenches with poisonous gases. Inventive genius has been exhausted to find new ways by which man can kill his fellowman!

And the nations which are at war are not barbarous nations—they are among the most civilized of the earth; neither are they heathen nations—they are

among the Christian nations of the globe. They all worship the same God; and nearly all of them approach that God through the same mediator. They offer their supplications to a common Heavenly Father and then rise up to take each other's lives.

The Cause of the War

And now allow me to ask you to consider the false philosophy out of which this war has grown and the natural results of that false philosophy. Before speaking of the real cause, it is worth while to note that some of the causes which have produced war in the past are not responsible for this war. There have been race wars in history—wars that have been the outgrowth of race prejudices which have sometimes extended through centuries. But this is not a race war; the races are all mixed up in this war. Saxon and Slav are allies; Latin and Frank are allies; Teuton and Turk are allies. And now, since Bulgaria has entered the war, Slav is fighting Slav, and it is not yet known whether the Greek, if he enters the war, will side with Turk or Roman. The races are inexplicably mixed.

And it is not a religious war. There have been religious wars, although we can not understand how a war could arise over a religious difference. We have learned to believe that the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience is an inalienable right, and it would never occur to us that a man would kill another in order to prove that his religion is better than the other man's religion. According to our theory, if a man desires to prove the superiority of his religion, he lives it, for we do not count a religion as worthy of the name if it does not

manifest itself in the life. There have, however, been religious wars, but this is not one of them. On the Bosphorus the crescent and the cross float above the same legions; a Protestant emperor of Germany is the ally of a Catholic emperor of Austria; and you will find fighting in the same army corps representatives of three great branches of the Christian church, Catholics, members of the Church of England and members of the Greek church. The religions are as badly mixed in this war as the races.

And it is not a family war. There have been family wars—wars that have had their origin in family feuds or in family greed, but in this war the families are mixed. The Emperor of Germany, the King of England, and the Czar of Russia are cousins, members of one royal family, although you would never suspect from the way they treat each other that they are closely related by ties of blood.

And there was no cause of war apparent on the surface. Within a month of the beginning of the war the rulers who are now fighting each other were visiting each other; they were being hospitably entertained. When one of them had a birthday, the others all joined in wishing him many happy returns of the day. It would be a libel upon the rulers now at war to say that they knew that a cause existed adequate to produce such a war. For had they known of the existence of such a cause, it would have been their duty to their subjects to lay aside social festivities and the exchange of compliments that they might join together and remove the cause of war. But without a race cause, a religious cause, a family cause, or any cause visible to the public, this war began, and such a war as history has never known! There must be a cause and it must be a human cause, for no one

who loves God would ever blame Him for this inhuman war. It behooves us to find the cause, that, knowing the cause, we may, by avoiding it, avoid the consequences.

I have tried to find the cause of this war, and, if my analysis of the situation is correct, the cause is to be found in a false philosophy—in the doctrine that “might makes right.” This doctrine was formerly proclaimed quite publicly; now it is no longer openly proclaimed, but it is sometimes practiced when the temptation is sufficient. Before you become excited—while you can yet reason, I appeal to you to set the seal of your condemnation against this brutal, barbarous doctrine that “might makes right.” And that you may see more clearly the importance of reaching a conclusion and proclaiming it, I call your attention to the fact that there is but one code of morals known among men and that is the code that regulates individual life. If this code of morals is not to be applied to nations, then there is no moral code which can be invoked for the regulation of international affairs.

The Way Out

No, they will not carry the war to the point of annihilation, and if they did it would be a crime against civilization. If they do not know each other, we know them all, for their children have come among us and have helped to make this country what it is. We know that these belligerent nations have reached their present positions through struggles that have lasted for centuries and that each one has a priceless contribution to make to the future of the world. God might have made all the flowers of one color and with a single fragrance, but the world would not have

been as attractive had He done so. And so God might have made all nations with one history and a single language, but I believe that the world is better for their rivalries and their competitions; they together constitute one resplendent political bouquet.

Some think that if the war does not go on until annihilation takes place it must at least go on until one side is so completely triumphant that it can dictate the terms of peace, compel the acceptance of those terms, and thereafter maintain the peace of Europe by the sword. But when we consider the immense masses of men on either side this thought is almost as idle as the thought of annihilation, and it will not brighten the future if as result of this war one nation or group of nations emerges from the conflict master on land or sea.

If there is one lesson which history teaches more clearly than any other it is that nations which aspire to mere physical supremacy have no hope of immortality; the fact that they put their faith in force is proof that they have in them the seeds of death. The pathway of human progress is lined with the wrecks of empires which, when at the zenith of their power, thought themselves invincible.

[What the world needs is not a despot to fix the terms upon which the rest shall live; its great need is that these nations shall be brought together in a spirit of friendship and fellowship that they may cooperate in working out the destiny of Europe.] If this nation has any influence, that influence must be exerted to bring the warring nations together and not to encourage them in the false hope that a permanent peace can be built on force or fear.

All of the rulers of the nations at war tell us that they did not want the war and did not cause it, but

none of them tell us how it can be brought to an end. Have not these neutral nations, all of whom bear burdens though they are not to blame, a right to know what it is that, being done, peace may be restored? For what are the nations fighting—not in general terms but specifically? Is it territory that they want, then how much and where is it located? Is it blood that they demand, then how much more blood must be shed to avenge the blood already shed? If they will not answer the neutral nations, will they not make answer to their own people? The day will come when this accumulated sorrow will overflow—when this pent-up anguish will find a voice—and then, if not before, the rulers must answer that stern question that shakes thrones and fixes the farthestmost limits of arbitrary power—"Why do we die?"

The Peace Treaty Plan

Europe has had machinery for war, but not for peace. The nations of Europe could go to war in a minute, but they were not sufficiently supplied with machinery for the adjustment of difficulties that defied diplomatic settlement. And we can not be harsh in our criticism because, until recently, this nation was almost as poorly supplied as the European nations with the machinery for the preservation of peace. [U]ntil within four years our best treaties were those known as the "Arbitration Treaties" and they had two serious defects. First, they only ran five years and then died. And when one of these treaties died it had to be renewed by the same formalities required for its negotiation. It had to be ratified by two-thirds of the senate, which meant that though the President might desire to continue it and though a majority of the senate might desire to continue it, the

extension of its life could be prevented if a minority of the senate, more than one-third, objected.

But a still more serious defect was found in the fact that these treaties did not cover all questions—they excepted questions of honor, questions of independence, vital interests and interests of third parties, the very questions out of which wars are apt to grow. When a man is angry every question is a question of honor, every interest a vital interest. Man angry is a very different animal from man calm; when a man is angry he swaggers about and talks about what he *can* do, and he generally overestimates it. When he is calm he thinks about what he *ought* to do and listens to the voice of conscience.

We now have thirty treaties with nations representing three-fourths of the world and these treaties cure the defects of which I have spoken. In the first place, instead of dying at the end of five years they never die. They run on and on until twelve months after one side or the other has asked that they be discontinued. I believe that neither side will ever ask that these treaties be discontinued. I have such faith in these treaties that I believe that a thousand years from now the name of Woodrow Wilson and my name will be linked together in these treaties in the capitals of the world and that these treaties will preserve the peace of our nation by furnishing machinery by which peace can be preserved with honor.

But what is more important than length of life, these treaties *contain no exceptions*; they cover *all* disputes of every kind and character. Each one of these thirty treaties provides that every dispute that defies diplomatic settlement, if not by some other treaty submitted for final settlement, must be submitted to an international commission for investiga-

tion and report. Each one of these thirty treaties also provides that the period of investigation may last a year, and each one of these treaties further provides that during the period of investigation neither side shall declare war or begin hostilities. Here are three provisions, new to treaty-making, which reduce war between us and the contracting parties to a remote possibility.

Our Nation's Opportunity

We stand at the head of the neutral nations; the world looks to us to act as mediator when the time for mediation comes. If, for any reason, no matter what that reason may be, we enter this war, we must step down from our high position and turn over to some other nation an opportunity such as never came to any nation before and may never come again!

Then, too, we are the next of kin to all the nations now at war; they are blood of our blood and bone of our bone. Not a soldier boy falls on any battlefield over yonder but the wail of sorrow in his home finds an echo at some American fireside, and these nations have a right to expect that we will remain the friend of all, and be in position to play the part of a friend when a friend can aid.

Some nation must point the way to an enduring peace built on love and brotherhood, and I crave that honor for this nation. More glorious than any page in history that has yet been written will be the page that records our claim to the promise made to the peacemakers.

This is the day for which the ages have been waiting. For nineteen hundred years the gospel of the Prince of Peace has been making its majestic march around the world, and during these centuries the

philosophy of the Sermon on the Mount has become more and more the rule of daily life. It only remains to lift that code of morals from the level of the individual and make it real in the law of nations, and this, I believe is the task that God has reserved for the United States.

We are less hampered by precedent than other nations and therefore more free to act. I appreciate the value of precedent—what higher tribute can I pay it than to say that it is as universal as the law of gravitation and as necessary to stability? And yet the law of gravitation controls only inanimate nature—everything that lives is in constant combat with the law of gravitation. The tiniest insect that creeps upon the ground wins a victory over it every time it moves; even the slender blade of grass sings a song of triumph over this universal law as it lifts itself up toward the sun. So every step in human progress breaks the law of precedent. Precedent lives in the past—it relies on memory; because a thing never was, precedent declares that it can never be. Progress walks by faith and dares to try the things that ought to be.

This, too, is the leading Christian nation. We give more money every year to carry the Bible to those who live under other flags than any other nation now living or that has lived. The two reasons combine to fix the eyes of the world upon us as the one nation which is at liberty to lead the way from the blood-stained methods of the past out into the larger and better day.

We must not disappoint the hopes which our ideals and achievements have excited. If I know the heart of the American people they are not willing that this supreme opportunity shall pass by unimproved. No, the metropolitan press is not the voice of the nation;

you can no more measure the sentiment of the peace-loving masses by the froth of the jingo press than you can measure the ocean's silent depths by the foam upon its waves.

From "The War in Europe and Its Lessons for Us."

(NOTE: The speech on "The War in Europe and its Lessons for us," has been delivered throughout the United States for a year and a half. It contains a discussion of the so-called doctrine of preparedness. The theory that preparedness will prevent war is the false philosophy which has converted Europe into a slaughter-house. It is the doctrine of terrorism, and is as sure to provoke conflict between nations as it is to produce discord between neighbors. The present unparalleled war was preceded by a period of preparedness without precedent. The attempt to import this doctrine from Europe and make it our national policy has given professional soldiers an opportunity to magnify their profession, while manufacturers of munitions have seen in it a means of increasing their dividends. It can not commend itself to the masses when the war fever has run its course.)

Christ Before Pilate

There is a picture that has attracted comment wherever it has been exhibited—the picture of Christ before Pilate. Pilate represented the power of the Roman government, and back of him were the legions of Rome. Before Pilate, helpless, unarmed, stood the Apostle of Love. Force triumphed; they nailed Him to the tree, and those who stood around mocked and jered and said, "He is dead!" But that, instead of being the end, was only the beginning. In a few centuries the power of Cæsar was gone and his legions

forgotten. The power of Christ, however, increased until hundreds, yes, thousands of millions have taken His name with reverence upon their lips; and millions have been ready to die rather than surrender the faith He put into their hearts. He has become the great fact of history, the growing figure of all time. Today Christ and Pilate again stand face to face—Force and Love are again striving for mastery and dominion. The old world represents force. It built its hope of peace on fear and threats of violence. Each nation attempted to terrorize other nations into peace, and in their efforts they engendered hatreds that ended in war.

If the nations now at war had spent one-tenth as much trying to cultivate friendship as they have spent in cultivating hatred, there would be no war in Europe today.

From St. Louis Convention Speech, 1916.

A Christian Precedent

Nineteen hundred years ago wise men came from the East, following the Star of Bethlehem and seeking Him who was to be born the Prince of Peace. If they could do this, inspired only by prophecy unfulfilled, this great Christian nation, after nineteen centuries of demonstration, should be able to go as a wise nation from the west, carrying gifts to relieve the distress on both sides, and appeal to these people to come with us and, in the name of the Prince of Peace, lift the world out of the bloody mire and up to a plane upon which a permanent peace can be built.

Some talk about going into this war, if honor requires. Oh, my countrymen, there is no honor that we can secure or defend by going into this war that is comparable with the honor that we can win if we can

persuade the warring nations to turn, like prodigal sons, from the husks on which they have fed and make the future of the world bright by substituting co-operation for combat, and friendship for the hatreds out of which wars grow.

From Lake Mohonk Speech.

XX

RELIGION

Religion Defined

RELIGION has been defined by Tolstoy as the relation which man fixes between himself and his God, and morality as the outward manifestation of this inward relation. Every one, by the time he reaches maturity, has fixed some relations between himself and God and no material change in this relation can take place without a revolution in the man. This relation is the most potent influence that acts upon a human life.

From "The Prince of Peace."

The Basis of Religion

Even some older people profess to regard religion as a superstition, pardonable in the ignorant but unworthy of the educated. Those who hold this view look down with mild contempt upon such as give to religion a definite place in their thoughts and lives. They assume an intellectual superiority and often take little pains to conceal the assumption. Tolstoy administers to the "cultured crowd" (the words quoted are his) a severe rebuke when he declares that the religious sentiment rests not upon a superstitious fear of the invisible forces of nature, but upon man's consciousness of his finiteness amid an infinite universe and of his sinfulness; and this consciousness, the great

philosopher adds, man can never outgrow. Tolstoy is right; man, recognizing how limited are his own powers and how vast is the universe, leans upon the arm that is stronger than his. Man feels the weight of his sins and looks for One who is sinless.

From "The Prince of Peace."

Man a Religious Being

Man is a religious being; the heart instinctively seeks for a God. Whether he worships on the banks of the Ganges, prays with his face upturned to the sun, kneels toward Mecca or, regarding all space as a temple, communes with the Heavenly Father according to the Christian creed, man is essentially devout.

From "The Prince of Peace."

God

The existence of God need not be proven; it is a self-evident truth. "In the beginning was God"—we can not go beyond that. We must commence somewhere; we must start with something, and the Christian starts with Jehovah. The mystery of creation is not made clear by assuming that matter and force are eternal; the Christian begins with a more reasonable assumption, namely, that God is eternal.

If it is difficult to understand how there can be an all-powerful, all-wise, and all-loving God—the Creator of all things, it is still more difficult to understand how there can be a world, such as we see about us, without such a supreme and eternal being as its author and director. It is easier for the human mind to believe in such a God than to believe in any other theory of creation—hence the almost universal belief in a Creator. "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth His handiwork." His power, His

wisdom, and His love are all manifested in the provision He has made for the welfare of His children. And how dependent we are upon him! "Give us this day our daily bread," is not a formal petition. If He ceased to gather the mists from the ocean and form them into clouds, all life would disappear from the earth, but we have His promise of the early and the latter rain, of seed time and harvest. If He drew a veil between us and the sun, night would bring with it a sleep that would know no waking, but light and heat are meted out to us each day according to our needs, and he gives as freely to the humblest as to the greatest. No wonder He is called Father, and Father of all, whether they acknowledge their indebtedness to Him or not.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

The Bible

Next to the belief in God I would place the acceptance of the Bible as the word of God. I need not present arguments in its support; its claims have been established—the burden of proof is upon those who reject it. Those who regard it as a man-made book should be challenged to put their theory to the test. If man made the Bible, he is, unless he has degenerated, able to make as good a book today.

Judged by human standards, man is far better prepared to write a Bible now than he was when our Bible was written. The characters whose words and deeds are recorded in the Bible were members of a single race; they lived among the hills of Palestine in a territory scarcely larger than one of our counties. They did not have printing presses and they lacked the learning of the schools; they had no great libraries to consult, no steamboats to carry them around the world

and make them acquainted with the various centers of ancient civilization; they had no telegraph wires to bring them the news from the ends of the earth and no newspapers to spread before them each morning the doings of the day before. Science had not unlocked Nature's door and revealed the secrets of rocks below and stars above. From what a scantily supplied storehouse of knowledge they had to draw, compared with the unlimited wealth of information at man's command today! And yet these Bible characters grappled with every problem that confronts mankind, from the creation of the world to eternal life beyond the tomb. They have given us a diagram of man's existence from the cradle to the grave and they have set up warnings at every dangerous point along the path.

We turn back to the Bible for the Ten Commandments which form the foundation of our statute law and for the Sermon on the Mount, which lays down the rules for our spiritual growth. The Bible gives us the story of the birth, the works, the crucifixion, the resurrection and the ascension of Him whose coming was foretold in prophecy, whose arrival was announced by the Angel voices, singing Peace and Good-will—the history of Him who gave to the world a code of morality superior to anything that the world had ever known before or has known since—the thrilling story of One whom the world is accepting as Saviour and as the Perfect Example.

Let the athiests and the materialists produce a better Bible than ours, if they can. Let them collect the best of their school to be found among the graduates of universities—as many as they please and from every land. Let the members of this selected group travel where they will, consult such libraries as they please, and employ every modern means of swift communica-

tion. Let them glean in the fields of geology, botany, astronomy, biology and zoology, and then roam at will wherever science has opened the way; let them take advantage of all the progress in art and in literature, in oratory and in history—let them use to the full every instrumentality that is employed in modern civilization. And when they have exhausted every source, let them embody the results of their best intelligence in a book and offer it to the world as a substitute for this Bible of ours. Have they the confidence that the Prophets of Baal had in their God? Will they try? If not, what excuse will they give? Has man fallen from his high estate, so that we can not rightfully expect as much of him now as nineteen centuries ago? Or does the Bible come to us from a source that is higher than man—which?

But our case is even stronger. The opponents of the Bible can not take refuge in the plea that man is retrograding. They loudly proclaim that man has grown and that he is growing still. They boast of a world-wide advance and their claim is founded upon fact. In all matters except in the science of life, man has made wonderful progress. The mastery of the mind over the forces of nature seems almost complete, so far do we surpass the ancients in harnessing the water, the wind and the lightning.

For ages, the rivers plunged down the mountainsides and exhausted their energies without any appreciable contribution to man's service; now they are estimated as so many units of horse-power and we find that their fretting and foaming were merely a language which they employed to tell us of their strength and of their willingness to work for us. And, while falling water is becoming each day a larger factor in burden bearing, water, rising in the form of

steam, is revolutionizing the transportation methods of the world.

The wind that first whispered its secret of strength to the flapping sail is now turning the wheel at the well.

Lightning, the red demon that, from the dawn of Creation, has been rushing down its zigzag path through the clouds, as if intent only upon spreading death, having been metamorphosed into an errand boy, brings us illumination from the sun and carries our messages around the globe.

Inventive genius has multiplied the power of the human arm and supplied the masses with comforts of which the rich did not dare to dream a few centuries ago. Science is ferreting out the hidden causes of disease and teaching us how to prolong life. In every line, except in the line of character-building, the world seems to have been made over, but the marvelous changes by which old things have become new only emphasize the fact that man, too, must be born again, while they show how impotent are material things to touch the soul of man and transform him into a spiritual being. Wherever the moral standard is being lifted up—wherever life is becoming larger in the vision that directs it and richer in its fruitage, the improvement is traceable to the Bible and to the influence of the God and Christ of whom the Bible tells.

The atheist and the materialist must confess that man ought to be able to produce a better book today than man, unaided, could have produced in any previous age. The fact that they have tried, time and time again, only to fail each time more hopelessly, explains why they will not—why they can not—accept the challenge thrown down by the Christian world to produce a book worthy to take the Bible's place.

They have prayed to their God to answer with fire—prayed to inanimate matter with an earnestness that is pathetic—and they have employed in the worship of blind force a faith greater than religion requires, but their almighty is asleep. How long will they allow the search for the strata of stone and fragments of fossil and decaying skeletons that are strewn around the house to absorb their thoughts to the exclusion of the architect who planned it all? How long will the agnostic, closing his eyes to the plainest truths, cry “night, night,” when the sun in his meridian’s splendor announces that the noon is here?

To the young man who is building character I present the Bible as a book that is useful always and everywhere. It guides the footsteps of the young; it throws a light upon the pathway during the mature years, and it is the only book that one cares to have beside him when the darkness gathers and he knows that the end is near. Then he finds consolation in the promises of the Book of Books and his lips repeat, even when his words are inaudible, “Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I shall fear no evil, for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me,” or “I go to prepare a place for you,” “that where I am, there ye may be also.”

From “The Making of a Man.”

Christ

The divinity of Christ is a material part of the Christian creed; it can not be omitted. If Christ is to be a Saviour, or even an authoritative example, He must be first a Son. It is not necessary to rely upon His birth, upon His miracles, or even upon His resurrection, to prove His claim to sonship. In fact, the

natural process of reasoning is to confirm the Bible account of His birth, His miracles, and His resurrection by showing what He said, what He did, and what He was. When He is understood, nothing said of Him will seem impossible. He is a fact which can not be disputed. That a mere man should have said what He said, should have done what He did, and should have lived and died as He lived and died is incomprehensible. Reared in a carpenter's shop; without contact with the sages of other lands and without knowledge of the sages dead, except as He gained it from the Old Testament, He, at the age of thirty, announced His messiahship, gathered a few disciples about Him, set forth a code of morals surpassing anything known before—surpassing any code that the non-Christian world can formulate today—and then was crucified.

And yet from this beginning His religion spread until thousands of millions have become His followers and millions have been willing to die rather than surrender the faith which He put into their hearts. Here is One who, for 1900 years, has exerted an increasing influence over the hearts and minds and lives of men—One who wields more power today than ever before! How can it be explained? It is not a matter to scoff at; the question, "What think ye of Christ?" is not a question to be brushed aside; it is a question that must be answered. *It is easier to believe Him divine than to explain in any other way His words, His life, and His death.*

And the same conclusion is reached by another course of reasoning. The work to be done was more than a man's task. No man, aspiring to be God, could save his fellows from their own selfishness and sin, fortify them against the temptations that come with appetite and passion, and bring them into harmony

with the divine will. It required a *God, condescending to be a man*, to work in the human heart that continuing miracle which is witnessed when one begins to love the things he hated, and to hate the things he loved—when one who, before the change, would have sacrificed a world for his ambition, stands ready, after the change, to give his life for a principle and finds pleasure in making sacrifice for his convictions.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

The Christ of Today

Measure Him by the task which He came to perform—it was not a man's task. Measure Him by the record He has made. Why, if He was but a man, has not our civilization produced another of His kind? Why are even His enemies compelled to admit the magic of His name and the wonder-working influence of the philosophy He taught? Why are His words as potent today as when the fishermen of Galilee became His disciples—as convincing as they were when "the common people heard Him gladly" upon the Mount of the Beatitudes?

Are you in doubt about His power to perform miracles when He walked among men? He is performing them today. The Christ who can today open the eyes of a young man, who sees nothing but the body and knows nothing but the pleasures that come through the flesh—the Christ who can open the eyes of such an one to the larger vision of the spiritual life could have opened the eyes of the physically blind. Do you question His power to raise the dead? Go into any rescue mission and hear the testimony of those who, after years of dissipation and of crime, have come under the influence of His grace and have been born again;—be-

hold the change—the Christ who can take a man from the gutter, one who has fallen so low that even his own flesh and blood have abandoned him, and lift him up, cleanse his heart and fill it with a passion for service—such a Christ could break the bonds of the tomb.

From "The Making of a Man."

Conversion

Conversion, as I understand it, is surrender of one's self to God—obedience to the first commandment. It is putting the kingdom of God and His righteousness first. And how long does it take to be converted? Not longer, I rejoice to believe, than it does to reject God. It does not take longer to be converted to righteousness than to be converted to sin. It takes but an instant for an honest man to be converted into a thief—just the instant in which he decides to steal. It takes just an instant for a law-abiding man to become a murderer. And so it takes but an instant for the heart to surrender itself to its Maker and pledge obedience to God. A man may spend weeks weighing the question before deciding to steal, but the decision to steal is made in a moment; a man may harbor revenge for months and brood over a real or imagined wrong, but the decision is made in a moment. And so a man may consider for years whether he will change his course, but it takes but a moment to resolve "I will arise and go to my father."

From "The First Commandment."

The Living Spring

To me the spring is the most fascinating fact in nature. It is the best representation of the ideal life,

just as the stagnant pool is the best illustration of a selfish life. The pool receiving the surface water from the sloping sides around it and, giving forth nothing, at last becomes the center of disease and death. There is nothing more repulsive than a stagnant pool, except the selfish life which it so properly represents.

The spring, on the contrary, pours forth its continuing flood of that which refreshes and invigorates. There is nothing more inspiring than a spring, except a human life built upon the plan of the spring.

And why is a spring a spring? Because it is connected with a reservoir which is higher than itself; it is the means through which the water from above finds an outlet. And what has Christ done by His coming? He has connected man with the Heavenly Father, so that the goodness of God may flow out through Him to a waiting world. This is what Christ has done for multitudes and what He can do for all. He can take the frailest, weakest mortal and, by bringing him into living contact with the source of life and of light and power, make him an important factor in the world's work.

From "The First Commandment."

Spiritual Power

If we measure man in units of horse-power he is not as strong as some of the beasts about him. If we measure him in units of intellectual power we soon find his limitations; but when we measure him in units of spiritual power there is no arithmetic which can compute his possibilities. When a boy I used to read how wicked cities might have been saved by a few righteous men; I can understand it better now. Cities can be saved today, and countries as well, by the spiritual

power which begins with a few and spreads until the whole body politic is aroused.

It is only when we understand the spiritual power of man that we comprehend the lines of the song:

“I know of a land that is sunk in shame,
Of hearts that faint and tire,
But I know a Name, a Name, a Name,
That can set the land on fire.”

The great need of the world today is the spiritual power necessary for the overthrow of evil, for the establishment of righteousness and for the ushering in of the era of perpetual peace; and that spiritual power begins in the surrender of the individual to God. It commences with obedience to the first commandment. I am glad to press upon your consideration the commandment—“Thou shalt have no other gods before Me”; or, as Christ phrased it, “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.” When one obeys this commandment, he is in position to understand and obey the second, “which is like unto it”—“Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.” He who obeys the two will be neither barren nor unfruitful.

From “The First Commandment.”

Prayer

If God is a Spirit, and we worship Him in spirit and in truth, it is only natural that there should be some means of communication between Him and His worshippers. Christ taught that such a line of com-

munication could be established, and no one will dispute it who has learned how to pray.

It is not necessary that I should be able to explain how, in olden times, the prophets spake as the Lord commanded them, or how the Bible was written by inspiration; man could see the lightning's flash and feel the shock long before he understood the laws which govern the action of that wonder-working fluid which we call electricity; so, until I have more complete knowledge of the subject, I am content to know that there is an unseen Power which can speak peace to the troubled heart and renew the flagging zeal—sometimes manifesting itself in the "still small voice," sometimes pouring itself out in a pentecostal flood.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

Love

God is love, and Christ was both the evidence of love and the supreme illustration of it. The Man of Galilee gave the world a new definition of love. The world had known love before; husbands had loved their wives, and wives their husbands; parents had loved their children and children their parents; and friend had loved friend. But here was a love as boundless as the sea—a love whose limits were so far-flung that no one could travel beyond its bounds.

Love is enlightened—it is not blind, as some would have us believe. It penetrates into the dark places—into the prisons where light and sympathy can be carried; it discovers the sick to whom kindness can be shown; it discerns latent power in those unknown to fame; it detects the weak points in the armor of boasting strength.

Love begets love: heart answereth unto heart. "We

love him because he first loved us," has been said of all whom the world has ever loved.

Love is a growing force because it is the one weapon for which there is no shield.

Thought looks up to love as the flower opens to the sun.

When navies no longer mock the thunder with their roar ; when armies no more shake the earth with their tread, "and the battle flags are furled"—love's roll call will still be sounded ; love will marshal increasing hosts and lead them into a higher arena in which the energies will be employed in saving rather than in destroying, and in which life will be found instead of lost.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

Faith

Faith is the spiritual extension of the vision ; it is the moral sense which reaches out toward the throne of God and takes hold upon those verities which the mind can not grasp.

The great things of the world have been accomplished by men and women who had faith enough to attempt the seemingly impossible and to trust to God to open the way.

Faith is a heart virtue ; doubts of the mind will not disturb us if there is faith in the heart.

Faith in the triumph of truth, because it is truth, has ever been an unflinching source of courage and power. Faith leads us to trust the omnipotence of the Ruler of the Universe, and to put God's promises to the test.

Faith is as necessary to the heart of the individual as it is necessary to world-wide peace. What can equal

the consolation that comes from reliance upon the care of Him who gives beauty to the lily, food to the fowls of the air, and direction to all?

“He who, from zone to zone,
Guides from the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone
Will lead my steps aright.”

From “The Fruits of the Tree.”

Forgiveness

Forgiveness is the test of love.

At no other point is the contrast more sharply drawn between the precepts of Christ and the teachings of the philosophers of the non-Christian world than on the subject of forgiveness. While the latter contented themselves with rules and formulæ Christ cleansed the heart of that from which evil grows.

Forgiveness is so important a part of God's scheme, so essential to Christ's code of morals, that in the model prayer which Jesus gave for the instruction of His followers, He made our willingness to forgive the measure of our claim to forgiveness: “Forgive us our trespasses, *as we forgive those who trespass against us.*”

The doctrine of forgiveness was not urged for the benefit of the forgiven alone; it is necessary to the happiness of the injured party as well. There is no heavier burden than a load of revenge; it will break any man down who attempts to carry it. It is only once—or occasionally at most, that one has a chance to retaliate upon an enemy, but the spirit of retaliation does the one who cherishes it a continuing injury.

It is a corroding influence, and destructive of the better nature.

It is for the benefit of the victim of the injury as well as for the punishment of the wrong-doer that God reserves to Himself the exclusive right to visit retribution.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

Opportunity

They do me wrong who say I come no more
When once I knock and fail to find you in;
For every day I stand without your door,
And bid you work, and rise to fight and win.

Wail not for precious chances passed away,
Weep not for golden ages on the wane!
Each night I burn the records of the day—
At sunrise every soul is born again!

Laugh like a boy at splendors that have fled,
To vanished joys be blind and deaf and dumb;
My judgments seal the dead past with its dead,
But never bind a moment yet to come.

Though deep in mire, wring not your hands and weep;
I lend my arm to all who say "I can";
No shame-faced outcast ever sank so deep
But he might rise and be again a man!

Dost thou behold thy lost youth all aghast?
Dost reel from righteous retribution's blow?
Then turn from blotted archives of the past,
And find the future's pages white as snow.

Art thou a mourner? Rouse thee from thy spell;
Art thou a sinner? Sins may be forgiven:
Each morning gives thee wings to flee from hell,
Each night a star to guide thy feet to heaven.

Walter Malone.

Christian Courage

But this Prince of Peace promises not only peace but strength. Some have thought His teachings fit only for the weak and the timid and unsuited to men of vigor, energy and ambition. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Only the man of faith can be courageous. Confident that he fights on the side of Jehovah, he doubts not the success of his cause. What matters it whether he shares in the shouts of triumph? If every word spoken in behalf of truth has its influence and every deed done for the right weighs in the final account, it is immaterial to the Christian whether his eyes behold victory or whether he dies in the midst of the conflict.

“Yea, though thou lie upon the dust,
When they who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Like those who fell in battle here.

“Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet’s mouth is pealed,
The blast of triumph o’er thy grave.”

From “The Prince of Peace.”

Saving Life and Losing It

The seeming paradox: "He that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it," has an application wider than that usually given to it; it is an epitome of history. Those who live only for themselves live little lives, but those who stand ready to give themselves for the advancement of things greater than themselves find a larger life than the one they would have surrendered. Wendell Phillips gave expression to the same idea when he said: "What imprudent men the benefactors of the race have been! How prudently most men sink into nameless graves, while now and then a few *forget* themselves into immortality." We win immortality, not by remembering ourselves, but by forgetting ourselves in devotion to things larger than ourselves.

From "The Prince of Peace."

Example

Example is the means of propagating truth.

What bloodshed might have been avoided; what slaughter might have been prevented, if all who bore the name of Christian had been willing to trust to the life for the evangelization of the world, instead of resorting to the sword!

It is a slow process, this winning of converts by example, but it is the sure way—it is Christ's way. *A speech may be disputed; even a sermon may not convince, but no one has yet lived who could answer a Christian life; it is the unanswerable argument in support of the Christian religion.*

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

The Golden Rule

It is not sufficient that we abstain from wrong doing; we must do good. It is difficult to measure the woe which injustice has brought mankind or to estimate the benefit to be derived from the establishment of universal justice; but the world needs something better than justice. The earth would be a cold and cheerless place in which to live if there were nothing warmer here than justice. We need sympathy; we need generosity; we need that helpfulness which benevolence alone inspires.

Christianity is not an abstraction—it is a reality. To prove his right to the name of Christian, one must *be* something; he must *do* something. Love impels him to service through example, and the golden rule points the way.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

Service the Measure of Greatness

It always has been true; it is true today; it always will be true that he is greatest who does the most of good. Read the inscriptions upon the monuments reared by grateful hands to those whom the world calls great; they record not what the dead have received, but what they have given to the world, and prove that it is, in truth, "more blessed to give than to receive."

And how this old earth will be transformed when this measure of greatness is the measure of every life! We have had our conflicts, because we have been trying to see how much we could get from each other; there will be peace when we are trying to see how much we can do for each other. We have had our

combats because we have been trying to see how much we could get out of the world; there will be peace when we are trying to see how much we can put into the world. The human measure of a human life is its income; the divine measure of a human life is its outgo—its overflow—its contribution to the welfare of the world.

Christ's conception of life is a revolutionary one; it will revolutionize an individual, it will revolutionize a community, a nation, or a world. Let one understand that his success is to be measured (and is not his happiness also?) by his service to society, and life takes on a new meaning.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

The Price of a Soul

The fact that Christ dealt with this subject is proof conclusive that it is important, for He never dealt with trivial things. When Christ focused attention upon a theme it was because it was worthy of consideration—and Christ weighed the soul. He presented the subject, too, with surpassing force; no one will ever add emphasis to what He said. He understood the value of the question in argument. If you will examine the great orations delivered at crises in the world's history, you will find that in nearly every case the speaker condensed the whole subject into a question, and in that question embodied what he regarded as an unanswerable argument.

Christ used the question to give force to the thought which he presented in regard to the soul's value. On one side He put the world and all that the world can contain—all the wealth that one can accumulate, all the fame to which one can aspire, and all the happi-

ness that one can covet; and on the other side He put the soul; then He asked the question that has come ringing down the centuries: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

There is no compromise here—no partial statement of the matter. He leaves us to write one term of the equation ourselves. He gives us all the time we desire, and allows the imagination to work to the limit, and when we have gathered together into one sum all things but the soul, He asks—What if you gain it all—all—*all*, and lose the soul? What shall it profit?

From "The Price of a Soul."

Proof of Immortality

If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and to make it burst forth from its prison walls, will He leave neglected in the earth the soul of man, made in the image of his Creator? If He stops to give to the rosebush, whose withered blossoms float upon the autumn breeze, the sweet assurance of another spring-time, will He refuse the words of hope to the sons of men when the frosts of winter come? If matter, mute and inanimate, though changed by the forces of nature into a multitude of forms, can never die, will the imperial spirit of man suffer annihilation when it has paid a brief visit like a royal guest to this tene-ment of clay? No, I am sure that He who, notwithstanding His apparent prodigality, created nothing without a purpose, and wasted not a single atom in all His creation, has made provision for a future life in which man's universal longing for immortality will

find its realization. I am as sure that we live again as I am sure that we live today.

From "The Prince of Peace."

The Grain of Wheat

In Cairo I secured a few grains of wheat that had slumbered for more than thirty centuries in an Egyptian tomb. As I looked at them this thought came into my mind: If one of those grains had been planted on the banks of the Nile the year after it grew, and all its lineal descendants had been planted and replanted from that time until now, its progeny would today be sufficiently numerous to feed the teeming millions of the world. An unbroken chain of life connects the earliest grains of wheat with the grains that we sow and reap. There is in the grain of wheat an invisible something which has the power to discard the body that we see, and from earth and air fashion a new body so much like the old one that we can not tell the one from the other. If this invisible germ of life in the grain of wheat can thus pass unimpaired through three thousand resurrections, I shall not doubt that my soul has power to clothe itself with a body suited to its new existence when this earthly frame has crumbled into dust.

From "The Prince of Peace."

Heaven

We need not worry about the details of the next life; it is enough to know that there is an existence beyond the grave. The God who fashioned this world and suited it to the needs of man can be trusted to frame a heaven for those whom He has made in His own image.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

The Miracle

The miracle raises two questions: "Can God perform a miracle?" and, "Would He want to?" The first is easy to answer. A God who can make a world can do anything He wants to do with it. The power to perform miracles is necessarily implied in the power to create. But would God *want* to perform a miracle?—this is the question which has given most trouble. The more I have considered it the less inclined I am to answer in the negative. To say that God *would not* perform a miracle is to assume a more intimate knowledge of God's plans and purposes than I can claim to have. I will not deny that God *does* perform a miracle or *may* perform one merely because I do not know how or why He does it. I find it so difficult to decide each day what God wants done now that I am not presumptuous enough to attempt to declare what God might have wanted to do thousands of years ago.

From "The Prince of Peace."

The Watermelon Illustration

I was eating a piece of watermelon some months ago and was struck with its beauty. I took some of the seeds and dried them and weighed them and found that it would require some five thousand seeds to weigh a pound; and then I applied mathematics to that forty-pound melon. One of these seeds, put into the ground, when warmed by the sun and moistened by the rain, takes off its coat and goes to work; it gathers from somewhere two hundred thousand times its own weight, and, forcing this raw material through a tiny stem, constructs a watermelon. Its ornaments

the outside with a covering of green; inside the green it puts a layer of white, and within the white a core of red, and all through the red it scatters seeds, each one capable of continuing the work of reproduction. What architect drew the plan? Where does the little seed get its tremendous power? Where does it find its coloring matter? How does it collect its flavoring extract? How does it build a watermelon? Until you can explain a watermelon, do not be too sure that you can set limits to the power of the Almighty or say just what He can do or how He would do it. I can not explain the watermelon, but I eat it and enjoy it.

From "The Prince of Peace."

The Radish

Did you ever raise a radish? You put a small black seed into the black soil and in a little while you return to the garden and find the full-grown radish. The top is green, the body white and almost transparent, and the skin a delicate red or pink. What mysterious power reaches out and gathers from the ground the particles which give it form and size and flavor? Whose is the invisible brush that transfers to the root, growing in darkness, the hues of the summer sunset? If we were to refuse to eat anything until we could understand the mystery of its creation we would die of starvation—but mystery, it seems, never bothers us in the dining room; it is only in the church that it causes us to hesitate.

From a lecture on "The Value of an Ideal."

The Darwinian Theory

Go back as far as we may, we can not escape from the creative act, and it is just as easy for me to believe that God created man *as he is* as to believe that, millions of years ago, He created a germ of life and endowed it with power to develop into all that we see today. I object to the Darwinian theory, until more conclusive proof is produced, because I fear we shall lose the consciousness of God's presence in our daily life, if we must accept the theory that through all the ages no spiritual force has touched the life of man or shaped the destiny of nations.

But there is another objection. The Darwinian theory represents man as reaching his present perfection by the operation of the law of hate—the merciless law by which the strong crowd out and kill off the weak. If this is the law of our development then, if there is any logic that can bind the human mind, we shall turn backward toward the beast in proportion as we substitute the law of love. I prefer to believe that love rather than hatred is the law of development. How can hatred be the law of development when nations have advanced in proportion as they have departed from that law and adopted the law of love?

From "The Prince of Peace."

Tracing Man's Pedigree

If a man links himself in generations with the monkey, it then becomes an important question whether he is going toward him or coming from him—and I have seen them going in both directions. I do not know of any argument that can be used to

prove that man is an improved monkey that may not be used just as well to prove that the monkey is a degenerate man, and the latter theory is more plausible than the former.

It is true that man, in some physical characteristics, resembles the beast, but man has a mind as well as a body, and a soul as well as a mind. The mind is greater than the body and the soul is greater than the mind, and I object to having man's pedigree traced on one-third of him only—and that the lowest third.

From "The Prince of Peace."

Drummond vs. Darwin

As the plant, to repeat what Drummond has said, reaches down and draws inanimate matter up into the realm of life, so we need some divine power to reach down and draw us up into the realm of spirit. Man can respond to a summons from above, but he has no physical or mental force within him which can, unaided, carry him to moral heights.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

Materialism

Materialism has no morality of its own; it is a parasite which fastens itself upon the living tree of Christianity. It has no trunk; it has no power to send its roots down into the ground and grow upon its own merits. Its tendency is to destroy—not to create. A society fashioned according to its plans would be neither elevated nor lasting; in proportion as materialism is embodied in life of both usefulness and happiness, while Christianity grows and will grow

because the more perfect its embodiment in the life the more attractive and forceful it becomes.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

Stumbling Blocks

The immoral church member who borrows his habits from the outside world, and the moral man outside the church who borrows his virtues from the church, are stumbling blocks only because their inconsistencies are not clearly understood by the unconverted.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

Sin the Silent Blackmailer

Sin is a silent blackmailer; it hushes the lips that would otherwise speak out against wrongdoing. Even after reformation the fear of exposure haunts the victim and often paralyzes his usefulness.

From Speech at Billy Sunday's Boston Meeting.

One with God

Man needs faith in God, therefore, to strengthen him in his hours of trial, and he needs it to give him courage to do the work of life. How can one fight for a principle unless he believes in the triumph of the right? How can he believe in the triumph of the right if he does not believe that God stands back of the truth and that God is able to bring victory to truth? The man of faith, believing that every word spoken for truth will have its influence and that no blow struck for righteousness is struck in vain, fights on without asking whether he is to fall in the beginning of the battle or to live to join in the shouts of triumph. He knows not whether he is to live for

the truth or to die for it, but if he has the faith he ought to have, he is as ready to die for it as to live for it.

Faith will not only give you strength when you fight for righteousness, but your faith will bring dismay to your enemies. There is power in the presence of an honest man who does right because it is right and dares to do the right in the face of all opposition. It is true today, and has been true through all history that "One with God shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

From Address on "Faith."

Morality the Power of Endurance

Morality is the power of endurance in man; and a religion which teaches personal responsibility to God gives strength to morality. I have known many men to start out with brilliant prospects and fall, but I have never known a real failure that did not begin with a breakdown in the moral purpose of the man.

From "The Prince of Peace."

Conscience

For every one restrained by the law, an hundred are made honest by conscience; for every one kept from wrong-doing by the fear of prison walls, a multitude walk the strait and narrow way because of the invisible walls that conscience rears about us—walls that are stronger than the walls of stone.

Living the Bible

What greater miracle than this that converts a selfish, self-centered, human being into a center from

which good influences flow out in every direction! And yet this miracle has been wrought in the heart of each one of us—or may be wrought—and we have seen it wrought in the hearts and lives of those about us. No, living a life that is a mystery, and living in the midst of mystery and miracles, I shall not allow either to deprive me of the benefits of the Christian religion. If you ask me if I understand everything in the Bible, I answer, no, but if we will try to live up to what we do understand, we will be kept so busy doing good that we will not have time to worry about the passages which we do not understand.

From "The Prince of Peace."

In His Image

I find proof that man was made in the image of his Creator in the fact that, throughout the centuries, he has been willing to die, if necessary, that blessings denied to him might be enjoyed by his children, his children's children and the world.

From "The Prince of Peace."

A Christmas Thought

Christmas is love's festival. Set apart for the commemoration of God's gift of His Son it has grown into a great holiday which is observed throughout Christendom by rich and poor alike. Even those who refuse to take upon themselves the vows of any church are constrained to join in the beautiful custom which makes both parents and children look forward to this day with pleasant anticipations. For weeks before December 25th busy hands are at work, tiny savings

banks are gathering in their sacred store and eager expectancy is written upon the faces of the young. To the boys and girls Santa Claus is a sort of composite donor who monopolizes the distribution of presents and who, reading the minds of his little friends, rewards the good (and all are good just before Christmas) with the very toys that they themselves have selected, while the older ones learn by experience that it is more blessed to give than to receive. Back of Christmas and the Christmas present is love, and the broad, brotherly love taught and exemplified by the Nazarene is not content with the remembrances which are exchanged as tokens of affection between members of the family and between intimate friends; it is compelling the widening of the circle to include the poor and the needy though not of kith or kin.

What an instructor love is! How it develops the one of whom it takes possession! When once it is awakened it dissolves all opposition. Dr. Parkhurst, the New York clergyman, in illustrating the difference between force and love said (quoted from memory) that "force is the hammer which can break a block of ice into a thousand pieces but leaves each piece still ice, while love is the ray of sunlight which, though acting more slowly and silently, melts the ice."

At this season of the year our thoughts turn to the contemplation of the new degree of love revealed to the world by Jesus. To the love between members of the family and love between friends He added an all-pervading love that includes every member of the human race. Even enemies are not beyond the bounds of this love, for man's puny arms are not strong enough to break the bonds that unite each son of God to all his brethren. "Love is not stupid," says

Tolstoy. It makes known to us our duty to our fellows and it will some day rule the world. Force is the weapon of the animal in us; after it comes money, which the intellect employs sometimes for good, sometimes for harm. But greater than all is love, the weapon of the heart. It is a sword that never rusts, neither does it break and the wounds that it leaves are life-saving, not life-destroying. No armor can withstand it and no antagonist can resist it. But why try to define this love or to measure its scope? Paul, the apostle, in his first epistle to the Corinthians describes it in language to which nothing can be added and from which nothing can be taken.

The Christian Ideal

Even in our maturer years we need an ideal which defies complete embodiment in the flesh. It is a low ideal that can be easily reached; when we overtake our ideal, our progress stops. It is the glory of the Christian ideal, embodied in the words and life of our Saviour, that while it is within sight of the weakest and the lowliest, it is yet so high that the best and noblest are kept with their faces turned ever upwards; and Christian civilization is the highest that the world has ever known because it rests upon a conception of life which makes that life a continuous ascent, with no limit to human advancement and development.

From "The Fruits of the Tree."

The Larger Life

If an agricultural community, which collected its wealth upon the earth's surface, was visited by a

stranger and told that just a few feet down in the ground a vein of coal could be found which would add to its material resources, would not the inhabitants at once avail themselves of the information? And would they not be grateful to the one to whom they were indebted for the information that thus enlarged their wealth? They might be too much engrossed in gathering in their new riches to honor their benefactor during his life, but after his death, at least, they would build a monument to him in proof of their appreciation.

And suppose after they had become accustomed to drawing their incomes from these two sources of wealth, the soil and the vein of coal, another stranger visited them and told them that a little farther down they could find gold with which to purchase all that they might desire, would they not again be glad to profit by this new knowledge? They might become so rich as to temporarily forget the one to whom they owed their good fortune, but in time this benefactor, too, would be remembered in story and in statue.

This illustration presents the lesson to be conveyed in this address upon *The Larger Life*.

Long before the coming of Christ man had become acquainted with all the pleasures that the body can give; the physical man had been cultivated to the full and made to yield its all to the race.

Even the mind had been explored and its more extended field had been brought into use. Art, literature, oratory, poetry, the rich fruitage of the ages—these were man's possessions. But Jesus revealed to man spiritual values, of which the world had been unconscious; He made an infinite addition to man's real wealth.

He did not come to subtract from anything that man knew or possessed; He did not come to withdraw a single good that could be embodied in a life. His mission was to give and to enlarge.

Paul, in speaking of Him, said that He came "to bring life and immortality to life"; and Christ Himself, in defining His mission, declared, "I am come that they might have life and have it more abundantly." Here we have the testimony not only of the greatest apostle but of the Saviour Himself, that life was to be enriched by His presence, His promises and His teachings.

The additions which Christ makes to the life are three-fold. First, He improves the quality of that which man had before enjoyed. The body is the better and the stronger for being subjected to moral discipline. The temptations which come with the body will, when yielded to, impair its strength and shorten existence. The physical energies are purified, and thus prolonged, when the body is obedient to spiritual control and brought into harmony with spiritual laws.

The mind, likewise, is lifted to a higher plane and employed in a much larger work when it has spiritual direction. The mind, like the body, is an agent, not a master. Both are excellent servants, but neither is fit to occupy the throne. The mind has temptations of its own and it has not strength within itself sufficient to enable it to resist these temptations.

Christ not only raises the quality of life by putting the mind and the body under the control of the spirit, but he enlarges the life by supplying a spiritual vision. The possibilities of life are viewed with the eye of faith rather than through the eye of reason. Man walks very slowly if he must think out the result of each step before he takes it. He can not be far sighted if

he sees no farther than the reason points upon the way. The large deeds of life are the result of faith. It is useless to discuss which is the more important, faith or works, because there would be no works of real value without faith. Faith comes first; works follow. The undertakings which have lifted men into history were undertakings which were spiritually discerned and only possible to those who trust.

Joseph's career illustrates the value of faith. Reason failed when he was imprisoned for virtue's sake; it was faith that enabled him to walk through the dungeon to a seat by the side of Pharaoh.

Christ has revealed to man the permanent things, the things that defy the grave.

We devote a great deal of time to the body. It shames us to cast up the account and find out how much we spend for its food, its clothing, its shelter, its comfort. And all the time we know that this body must return to the dust whence it came.

We have no assurance that the strength which the gymnasium gives us or any perfection of form or feature can be carried into the next world. I believe in the resurrection of the body. It is no more difficult to believe that the spirit can clothe itself in a body suitable to its new existence than it is to believe that the germ of life in a grain of wheat can renew the body in which it lived. I do not know just what kind of a body I shall have in the next world. According to the scientists I have had eight bodies already; an infant's body; a boy's body; a young man's body, and so on, for they say the body is renewed every seven years. I do not know which one of these numerous bodies I shall have in the next world, and I do not care. The God who made this world and arranged it for man's benefit can be trusted to make the

next world, and I am content to use, in the land beyond the skies, whatever body He sees fit to give me. But I repeat, we have no assurance anywhere that physical strength or physical perfection can be carried with us beyond this life.

And so with the mind, we spend a great deal of time upon it. We train it; we educate it; we store it with information, but we do not know how much of this intellectual accumulation we can use in the world beyond. We commence to learn as soon as we can talk. We go through the grades of the common school, the high school and the college. We study history and literature, science and poetry; we learn a great deal about people and about passing events which will surely be of little value to us beyond.

It is a consolation to know that there is that which is not mortal. We become more and more interested in the permanent things as we grow older. As we feel the strength of the body declining and as lethargy creeps over the mind we yearn to attach ourselves to something that will remain when we are gone. This is why people in their latter years look about for enterprises which they can help; for institutions about which their memories can entwine, and movements which will carry their thought, their purpose and their benevolence into succeeding generations.

If you will turn to the Parable of the Tares, you will find that Christ, in interpreting it, gave an assurance that is more appreciated with the years: "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." The promise is not to physical beauty or mental strength; it is righteousness that will shine in the land beyond, and it will shine, not as a comet, or meteor; nor as a moon or even as a fixed star, but as the *sun*.

If Christ had come offering something in exchange for what man had, it might have been necessary to weigh one against the other, but, when He came to add that which is beyond price and to take nothing away, who can afford to reject His offer? He knocks at the door of each home; He waits to bestow upon all who will receive it—the larger life.

From "The Larger Life."

XXI

IDEALS

The Value of an Ideal

WHAT is the value of an ideal? Have you ever attempted to estimate its worth? Have you ever tried to measure its value in dollars and cents? If you would know the pecuniary value of an ideal, go into the home of some man of great wealth who has an only son; go into that home when the son has gone downward in a path of dissipation until the father no longer hopes for his reform, and then ask the father what an ideal would have been worth that would have made a man out of his son instead of a wreck. He will tell you that all the money that he has or could have, he would gladly give for an ideal of life that would turn his boy's steps upward instead of downward.

An ideal is above price. It means the difference between success and failure—the difference between a noble life and a disgraceful career, and it sometimes means the difference between life and death.

From a lecture on "The Value of an Ideal."

The Change in Tolstoy's Ideals

A few months ago it was my good fortune to spend a day in the country home of the great philosopher of Russia. You know something of the history of Tolstoy, how he was born in the ranks of the nobility and how with such a birth he enjoyed every possible social

distinction. At an early age he became a writer of fiction and his books have given him a fixed place among the novelists of the century. "He sounded all the depths and shoals of honor" in so far as honor could be derived from society or from literature, and yet at the age of forty-eight life seemed so vain and empty to him that he wanted to die. They showed me a ring in the ceiling of a room in his house from which he had planned to hang himself. And what deterred him? A change came in his ideal. He was born again; he became a new creature, and for more than twenty-eight years, clad in the garb of a peasant and living the simple life of a peasant, he has been preaching unto all the world a philosophy that rests upon the doctrine "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself." There is scarcely a civilized community in all the world where the name of Tolstoy is not known and where his influence has not been felt. He has made such an impression upon the heart of Russia and the world that while some of his books are refused publication in Russia and denied importation from abroad, and while people are prohibited from circulating some of the things that he writes, yet with a million men under arms the government does not lay its hands upon Tolstoy.

From "The Value of an Ideal."

The Lawyer's Ideal

When a lawyer has helped his client to obtain all that his client is entitled to, he has done his full duty as a lawyer, and if he goes beyond this, he goes at his own peril. Show me a lawyer who has spent a lifetime trying to obscure the line between right and

wrong, trying to prove that to be just which he knew to be unjust, and I will show you a man who has grown weaker in character year by year, and whose advice, at last, will be of no value to his clients, for he will have lost the power to discern between right and wrong. Show me, on the other hand, a lawyer who has spent a lifetime in the search for truth, determined to follow where it leads, and I will show you a man who has grown stronger in character day by day and whose advice constantly becomes more valuable to his client, because the power to discern the truth increases with the honest search for it.

From "The Price of a Soul."

A Journalistic Ideal

I present to you a different—and I believe higher—ideal of journalism. If we are going to make any progress in morals we must abandon the idea that morals are defined by the statutes; we must recognize that there is a wide margin between that which the law prohibits and that which an enlightened conscience can approve. We do not legislate against the man who uses the editorial page for the purpose of deception but, viewed from the standpoint of morals, the man who, whether voluntarily or under instructions, writes what he knows to be untrue or purposely misleads his readers as to the character of a proposition upon which they have to act, is as guilty of wrong-doing as the man who assists in any other swindling transaction.

From "The Price of a Soul."

Pulpit Ideals

We need more Elijahs in the pulpit today—more men who will dare to upbraid an Ahab and defy a

Jezebel. It is possible, aye, probable, that even now, as of old, persecution would follow such boldness of speech, but he who consecrates himself to religion must smite evil where he finds it, although in smiting it he may risk his salary and his social position. It is easy enough to denounce the petty thief and the back-alley gambler; it is easy enough to condemn the friendless rogue and the penniless wrong-doer, but what about the rich tax-dodger, the big law-breaker and the corrupter of government? *The soul that is warmed by divine fire will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete performance of duty*; it must cry aloud and spare not, to the end that the creed of the Christ may be exemplified in the life of the nation.

From "The Price of a Soul."

The Party Ideal

So with a high party ideal. If we can fight our political battles upon this plane, there is no humiliation in defeat. I have passed through three presidential campaigns, and many have rejoiced over my defeats, but if events prove that my defeats have been good for my country, I shall rejoice over them myself, more than any opponent has rejoiced. And when I say this I am not unselfish, for it is better for me that my political opponents should bring good to my country than that I should, by any mistake of mine, bring evil.

From the Value of an Ideal.

XXII

MISCELLANEOUS

Education

UNIVERSAL education is our national aim—an open school door before every child born in the land, and all encouraged to make the largest possible use of the opportunities furnished.

From Speech on "Education."

Worse than the Loss of an Arm

In this day of increasing education the father who denies to his son the advantages of the schools, and sends him out half educated to compete with the boys well educated, is more cruel than the father who would cut off a son's arm. Loss of an arm is not nearly so great a handicap as lack of education.

From Speech on "Education."

A Lesson Like a Brick

A single brick is a useless thing, but many brick joined together by mortar make a wall, and a wall is of great value. So one lesson seems of little importance, but many lessons, joined together, make an education, and an education is priceless. And, as one brick taken out of a wall leaves an ugly hole, so one lesson missed mars the beauty and strength of the education.

From Speech on "Education."

Sharp Axe or Dull Axe?

The boy who drops out of school under the delusion that the money he can earn will be worth more to him than an education, makes a fatal mistake. As the wood chopper can afford to stop chopping long enough to keep his axe sharp, so the student can afford to postpone money earning long enough to complete his education. The difference between meeting life's problems with a trained mind and a dull mind is even greater than the difference between chopping wood with a sharp axe and a dull one.

From Speech on "Education."

Buzzard or Bee

The value of an education, both to one's self and to the world, depends very deeply on the purpose behind it. The buzzard and the bee illustrate the extremes of purpose. The buzzard soars high, but it never gets so high but that it is looking for something to eat, and when it dies it leaves nothing to perpetuate its memory. The bee lives on the best that there is while it lives and it leaves a legacy of honey when it dies. Some imitate the buzzard—some the bee. Some, no matter how high they rise, are always looking for something for themselves. They are selfish and self-centered, and they are not missed when they pass away. Some produce more than they consume and, when they die leave the world richer than they found it. Man is free to choose—will you pattern after the buzzard or the bee?

From Speech on "Education."

To High School Students

This audience recalls a day in my life forty-two years ago and more when I was a high school boy, for I was only fourteen when I became a member of a Christian church by conversion. I look back to that day as the most important day of my life. It has had far more to do with my life than any other day, and the Book to which I swore allegiance on that day has been more to me than any party platform.

I share in the joy you give to the older generation in coming tonight to put your hearts under the influences of a great appeal. Students, if you will count the books which you will have to study before you complete the prescribed course you will find that it takes a multitude of books to train the human mind; and when you have studied them all, that mind is but the agent of something greater than the mind itself. The mind is but an instrument used by the heart, and it takes only one Book to train the heart that ought to be the master of the mind. All your school books will not save your life from failure if your heart goes wrong; if your heart goes right it can take a head, however dull, and make it useful to society.

You come, therefore, to hear something more important than they teach in the schools. You come to learn a truth that ought to enter into the mind and sink into the heart of every student, namely, that there is no reason why any boy or girl should ever make a failure of life.

All your learning will not keep you from failing. Learning has no power to save a human being from sin. You come tonight to consider the claims of a Book that can save you, that can add to every joy that comes through the body or the mind, that can refine

every pleasure known to the physical man or to the mental man. You have come tonight to learn of that larger life into which the great evangelist will invite you as he presents to you the only Book that is good always and everywhere—the Book that will guide your footsteps when you are young and throw light upon your path during mature years, and the only Book one cares to have beside him as the evening of life approaches. I am here to join with you in drawing inspiration from the address to which we are now ready to listen.

From Speech at Billy Sunday's Boston Meeting.

Thomas Jefferson

Let us, then, with the courage of Andrew Jackson, apply to present conditions the principles taught by Thomas Jefferson—Thomas Jefferson, the greatest constructive statesman whom the world has ever known; the grandest warrior who ever battled for human liberty! He gave apt expression to the hopes that had nestled in the heart of man for ages and he set forth the principles upon whose strength all popular government must rest. In the Declaration of American Independence he proclaimed the principle with which there is, without which there can not be, “a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.” When he declared that “all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,” he comprehended all that lies between the Alpha and Omega of democracy.

Alexander “wept for other worlds to conquer” after

he had carried his victorious banner throughout the then known world. Napoleon "rearranged the map of Europe with his sword" amid the lamentations of those by whose blood he was exalted; but when these and other military heroes are forgotten and their achievements disappear in the cycle's sweep of years, children will still lisp the name of Jefferson, and free-men will ascribe due praise to him who filled the kneeling subject's heart with hope and bade him stand erect—a sovereign among his peers.

From Speech on Money, 1894.

Dreamers

It is the fate of those who stand in a position of leadership to receive credit, which really belongs to their co-workers. Even the enemies of a public man exaggerate the importance of his work, without, of course, intending it. I have recently been the victim of this exaggeration. Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, made a speech before the Republican club of Lincoln, and in it he paid me some compliments; but he said that I was merely a dreamer while President Roosevelt did things. I did not pay much attention to the title which he gave me until I read, shortly afterwards, that Speaker Cannon called me a dreamer; then Governor Cummins called me a dreamer, and then Governor Hanly, of Indiana, did also; and I saw that I could not expect acquittal with four such witnesses against me, and so I decided to plead guilty and justify.

I went to the Bible for authority, as I am in the habit of doing, for I have found no other book which contains so much of truth or in which truth is so well expressed; and then, too, there is another reason why I quote Scripture: When I quote democratic authority, the republicans attack my authority and they keep

me so busy defending the men from whom I quote that I do not have time to do the work I want to do, but when I quote Scripture and they attack my authority, I can let them fight it out with the Bible while I go on about my business.

The Bible tells of dreamers, and among the most conspicuous was Joseph. He told his dreams to his brothers, and his brothers hated him because of his dreams. And one day when his father sent him out where his brothers were keeping their flocks in Dothan, they saw him coming afar off and said: "Behold, the dreamer cometh." They plotted to kill him—and he is not the only dreamer who has been plotted against in this old world. But finally they decided that instead of killing him they would put him down in a pit, but some merchants passing that way, the brothers decided to sell him to the merchants, and the merchants carried Joseph down into Egypt.

The brothers deceived their father and made him think the wild beasts had devoured his son.

Time went on and the brothers had almost forgotten the dreamer Joseph. But a famine came—yes, a famine, and then they had to go down into Egypt and buy corn, and when they got there, they found the dreamer—and *he had the corn.*

So I decided that it was not so bad after all for one to be a dreamer—if one has the corn.

But the more I thought of the dreamer's place in history, the less I felt entitled to the distinction.

John Boyle O'Reilly says that

"The dreamer lives forever,
While the toiler dies in a day."

And is it not true?

In traveling through Europe you find great cathe-

dral, and back of each there was a dreamer. An architect had a vision of a temple of worship and he put that vision upon paper. Then the builders began, and they laid stone upon stone and brick upon brick until finally the temple was completed—completed sometimes centuries after the dreamer's death. And people now travel from all corners of the world to look upon the temple, and the name of the dreamer is known while the names of the toilers are forgotten.

No, I can not claim a place among the dreamers, but there has been a great dreamer in the realm of statesmanship—Thomas Jefferson. He saw a people bowed beneath oppression and he had a vision of a self-governing nation, in which every citizen would be a sovereign. He put his vision upon paper and for more than a century multitudes have been building. They are building at this temple in every nation; some day it will be completed and then the people of all the world will find protection beneath its roof and security within its walls. I shall be content if, when my days are numbered, it can be truthfully said of me that with such ability as I possessed, and whenever opportunity offered, I labored faithfully with the multitude to build this building higher in my time.

From "Dreamers" Speech delivered at Lincoln, Nebraska, in November, 1906.

An Indictment of Plutocracy

Plutocracy is abhorrent to a republic; it is more despotic than monarchy, more heartless than aristocracy, more selfish than bureaucracy. It preys upon the nation in time of peace and conspires against it in the hour of its calamity. Conscienceless, compassionless and devoid of wisdom, it enervates its votaries while it impoverishes its victims. It is already sapping the

strength of the nation, vulgarizing social life and making mockery of morals. The time is ripe for the overthrow of this giant wrong. In the name of the counting-rooms which it has defiled; in the name of business honor which it has polluted; in the name of the home which it has despoiled; in the name of religion which it has disgraced; in the name of the people whom it has oppressed, let us make our appeal to the awakened conscience of the nation.

And if I may be permitted to suggest a battle hymn, I propose a stanza, slightly changed, from one of the most touching of the poems of Burns, Scotland's democratic bard:

“Columbia! My dear, my native soil,
For whom my warmest wish to Heaven is sent,
Long may thy hardy sons of rustic toil
Be blest with health, and peace and sweet content.
And, O, may Heaven their simple lives prevent
From luxury's contagion weak and vile;
Then, though unearned wealth to wickedness be lent,
A virtuous populace will rise and stand
A wall of fire around their much loved land.”

From New York Reception Speech, 1906.

(NOTE: A reference made to government ownership of railroads caused the real purpose of this speech to be obscured. I did not intend to urge government ownership but rather to point out, first, that the railroads would, by resisting effective regulation, compel government ownership, and, second, that government ownership, when it came, should provide for federal ownership of the main lines only, the net work of local lines to be owned and operated by the several states—a plan which would greatly increase the relative strength of the states.)

Lincoln as an Orator

In analyzing Lincoln's characteristics as a speaker, one is impressed with the completeness of his equipment. He possessed the two things that are absolutely essential to effective speaking—namely, information and earnestness. If one can be called eloquent who knows what he is talking about and means what he says—and I know of no better definition—Lincoln's speeches were eloquent. He was thoroughly informed upon the subject; he was prepared to meet his opponent upon the general proposition discussed, and upon any deductions which could be drawn from it. There was no unexplored field into which his adversary could lead him; he had carefully examined every foot of the ground, and was not afraid of pitfall or ambush; and, what was equally important, he spoke from his own heart to the hearts of those who listened. While the printed page can not fully reproduce the impressions made by a voice trembling with emotion or tender with pathos, one can not read the reports of the debates without feeling that Lincoln regarded the subject as far transcending the ambitions or the personal interests of the debaters. It was of little moment, he said, whether they voted him or Judge Douglas up or down, but it was tremendously important that the question should be decided rightly.

His reputation may have suffered, in the opinion of some, because he made them think so deeply upon what he said that they, for the moment, forgot him altogether, and yet, is this not the very perfection of speech? It is the purpose of the orator to persuade, and to do this he presents, not himself, but his subjects. Someone, in describing the difference between Demosthenes and Cicero, said that when Cicero spoke, people

said, "How well Cicero speaks"; but that when Demosthenes spoke, they said, "Let us go against Philip." In proportion as one can forget himself and become wholly absorbed in the cause which he is presenting does he measure up to the requirements of oratory.

In addition to the two essentials, Lincoln possessed what may be called the secondary aids to oratory. He was a master of statement. Few have equalled him in the ability to strip a truth of surplus verbiage and present it in its naked strength. In the Declaration of Independence we read that there are certain self-evident truths, which are therein enumerated. If I were amending the proposition, I would say that all truth is self-evident. Not that any truth will be universally accepted, for not all are in a position or in an attitude to accept any given truth. In the interpretation of the parable of the sower, we are told that "the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth," and it must be acknowledged that every truth has these or other difficulties to contend with. But a truth may be so clearly stated that it will commend itself to anyone who has not some special reason for rejecting it.

No one has more clearly stated the fundamental objections to slavery than Lincoln stated them, and he had a great advantage over his opponent in being able to state those objections frankly, for Judge Douglas neither denounced nor defended slavery as an institution—his plan embodied a compromise, and he could not discuss slavery upon its merits without alienating either the slave owner or the abolitionist.

Brevity is the soul of wit, and a part of Lincoln's reputation for wit lies in his ability to condense a great deal into a few words. He was epigrammatic. A molder of thought is not necessarily an originator

of the thought molded. Just as lead molded in the form of bullets has its effectiveness increased, so thought may have its propagating power enormously enlarged by being molded into a form that the eye catches and the memory holds. Lincoln was the spokesman of his party—he gave felicitous expression to the thoughts of his followers.

His Gettysburg speech is not surpassed, if equalled, in beauty, simplicity, force and appropriateness by any speech of the same length of any language. It is the world's model in eloquence, elegance, and condensation. He might safely rest his reputation as an orator on that speech alone.

He was apt in illustration—no one more so. A simple story or simile drawn from every-day life flashed before his hearer the argument that he desired to present. He did not speak over the heads of his hearers, and yet his language was never commonplace. There is strength in simplicity, and Lincoln's style was simplicity itself.

He understood the power of the interrogatory; some of his most powerful arguments were condensed into questions. No one who discussed the evils of separation and the advantage to be derived from the preservation of the Union ever put the matter more forcibly than Lincoln did when, referring to the possibility of war and the certainty of peace some time, even if the Union was divided, he called attention to the fact that the same questions would have to be dealt with, and then asked: "Can enemies make treaties easier than friends can make laws?"

He made frequent use of Bible language and of illustrations drawn from Holy Writ. It is said that when he was preparing his Springfield speech of 1858, he spent hours trying to find language that would

express the idea that dominated his public career—namely, that a republic could not permanently endure half free and half slave, and that finally a Bible passage flashed through his mind, and he exclaimed: "I have found it! 'A house divided against itself can not stand.'" And probably no other Bible passage ever exerted as much influence as this one in the settlement of a great controversy.

I have enumerated some, not all—but the more important—of his characteristics as an orator, and on this day I venture for the moment to turn the thoughts of this audience away from the great work that he accomplished as a patriot, away from his achievements in the line of statecraft, to the means employed by him to bring before the public the ideas which attracted attention to him. His power as a public speaker was the foundation of his success, and while it is obscured by the superstructure that was reared upon it, it can not be entirely overlooked as the returning anniversary of his birth calls increasing attention to the widening influence of his work. With no military career to dazzle the eye or excite the imagination; with no public service to make his name familiar to the reading public, his elevation to the presidency would have been impossible without his oratory. The eloquence of Demosthenes and Cicero were no more necessary to their work and Lincoln deserves to have his name written on the scroll with theirs.

From "Lincoln As An Orator," speech at Springfield, Ill., February 12, 1909.

The Gettysburg Speech

And on this memorial day we shall fall short of our duty if we content ourselves with praising the

dead or complimenting the living and fail to make preparations for those responsibilities which present times and present conditions impose upon us. We can find instruction in that incomparable address delivered by Abraham Lincoln on the battlefield of Gettysburg. *It should be read as a part of the exercises of this day on each returning year as the Declaration of Independence is read on the fourth of July.*

From Arlington Memorial Day Oration.

(NOTE: The Grand Army of the Republic has since made the reading of the Gettysburg speech a part of the Memorial Day Exercises.)

At the Tomb of Napoleon

When I visited Europe for the first time I had in mind a visit to the Tomb of Napoleon, and, remembering that Ingersoll had described in beautiful words the impression which a similar visit made upon him, I secured a book containing what he said. I intended to quote from Ingersoll in writing about the tomb but when I visited it myself I saw something which Ingersoll did not see, or which, if he saw, it did not impress him. It was a picture of Christ upon the cross in a stained-glass window just beyond and above the sarcophagus "In which rest the ashes of this restless man." I do not know whether it was by accident or design that this god of war thus sleeps at the feet of the Prince of Peace, but to me it symbolized the victory of love over force, the final triumph of that philosophy which finds happiness as well as greatness in doing good.

From "The First Commandment."

By the Grave of a Friend

At another time I shall take occasion to speak of the life of Philo Sherman Bennett and to draw some lessons from his career; today I must content myself with offering a word of comfort to those who knew him as husband, brother, relative or friend—and as a friend I need a share of this comfort for myself. It is sad enough to consign to the dust the body of one we love—how infinitely more sad if we were compelled to part with the spirit that animated this tenement of clay. But the best of man does not perish. We bury the brain that planned for others as well as for its master, the tongue that spoke words of love and encouragement, the hands that were extended to those who needed help and the feet that ran where duty directed, but the spirit that dominated and controlled all rises triumphant over the grave. We lay away the implements with which he wrought, but the gentle, modest, patient, sympathetic, loyal, brave and manly man whom we knew is not dead and can not die. It would be unfair to count the loss of his departure without counting the gain of his existence. The gift of his life we have and of this the tomb can not deprive us. Separation, sudden and distressing as it is, can not take from the companion of his life the recollection of forty years of affection, tenderness and confidence nor from others the memory of helpful association with him. If the sunshine which a baby brings into a home, even if its sojourn is brief, can not be dimmed by its death; if a child growing to manhood or womanhood brings to the parents a development of heart and head that outweighs any grief that its demise can cause, how much more does a long life full of kindly deeds leave us indebted to

the Father who both gives and takes away. The night of death makes us remember with gratitude the light of the day that has gone while we look forward to the morning.

The impress made by the life is lasting. We think it wonderful that we can by means of the telephone or telegraph talk to those who are many miles away, but the achievements of the heart are even more wonderful, for the heart that gives inspiration to another heart influences all the generations yet to come. What finite mind, then, can measure the influence of a life that touched so many lives as did our friend's?

To the young, death is an appalling thing, but it ought not to be to those whose advancing years warn them of its certain approach. As we journey along life's road we must pause again and again to bid farewell to some fellow traveler. In the course of nature the father and the mother die, then brothers and sisters follow, and finally the children and the children's children cross to the unknown world beyond. One by one "from love's shining circle the gems drop away" until the "king of terrors" loses his power to affright us and the increasing company on the farther shore makes us first willing and then anxious to join them. It is God's way. It is God's way.

From "Under Other Flags."

The Children's Poet

Mr. Chairman, Dr. Riley, Children, Friends: It seems an intrusion for grown-up people to take part in these exercises, and I shall not violate the proprieties by trespassing long upon your time. This is Riley Day and the children are his hosts; all the chil-

dren belong to Riley, and Riley belongs to them. You have just heard him described as chief among the songbirds; perhaps that explains his migration to Florida. Like the other songbirds, he divides his time between the north and the south in order that he may sing the year round.

I ask your attention while I speak two words, one personal and one as your representative. My children were brought up on Riley food, and I hereby acknowledge the family's indebtedness to him. My wife has whiled away many an evening hour reading his homely and wholesome rhymes to those who are to carry our blood down through the years to come. Our son—who knows how many pitfalls he might have stumbled into had he not been warned away by "The goblins will get you if you don't watch out"—was especially fond of Dr. Riley's writings, so much so that, when a few years ago, the eminent author honored us with a set of his works, we inscribed on the fly leaf of the first volume, "with remainder over to Wm. Jennings Bryan, Jr.," and the books will go from our library to his in recognition of this early attachment.

And now, Dr. Riley, a word from the audience to you. I do not know whom you had in mind when you immortalized the words "Goodbye, Jim, take care of yourself." If it was your father's parting advice, you have obeyed it to the letter; you have taken care of yourself by devoting yourself to others—the only really effective way. Your life has proven anew that truth of the proverb: "There is a scattering that increaseth." You have made a success of life—such a success as few of your generation have achieved.

Your name is not found in the list of our multi-millionaires, but you have secured what all their

money can not buy—that “loving favor” which is rather to be chosen “than silver and gold.”

The blue books do not record your name among the great legislators of the nation, but this need not disturb you, for you are entitled to the distinction embodied in the words “Let me write the songs of a nation and I care not who makes its laws.”

You do not claim a place among the great warriors of the world, and yet you, the “Hero of the Nursery,” are the commander-in-chief of a larger army than any general ever led, and those who follow you know not the cruel clamor of war or the mingled miseries of the battlefield, but rather the joy of innocence and the laughter of youth.

You are not of the royal company of kings, and yet you reign with undisputed sway over the twilight hours.

You have never aspired to the presidency of the United States, and yet without arousing the animosities of a campaign you have won a victory nationwide. I constitute myself the messenger of the masses to inform you that, at an election where all could vote, you have been unanimously chosen to preside in the hearts of the children of America—chosen for life, and to live in memory forever after.

From Riley Day address at Miami, Fla., 1916.

Miracle of Miracles Is Man

Miracle of miracles is man! Most helpless of all God's creatures in infancy; most powerful when fully developed, and interesting always. What unfathomed possibilities are wrapped within the swaddling clothes that enfold an infant! Who can measure a child's influence for weal or woe? Before it can lisp a word, it has brought to one woman the sweet con-

sciousness of motherhood, and it has given to one man the added strength that comes with a sense of responsibility. Before its tiny hands can lift a feather's weight, they have drawn two hearts closer together and its innocent prattle echoes through two lives. Every day that child in its growth touches and changes some one; not a year in all its history but that it leaves an impress upon the race. What incalculable space between a statue, however flawless the marble, however faultless the workmanship, and a human being "afame with the passion of eternity."

If the statue can not, like a human being, bring the gray hairs of a parent "in sorrow to the grave," or devastate a nation, or with murderous hand extinguish the vital spark in a fellow being, neither can it, like a human being, minister to suffering mankind, nor scatter gladness "o'er a smiling land," nor yet claim the blessings promised in the Sermon on the Mount. Only to man, made in the Divine likeness, is given the privilege of choosing between measureless success and immeasurable woe.

From address on "Man."

The Mother's Wish

"We work in the real, but we live in the ideal," some one has said, and yet the ideal is the most real thing that we know, as all can testify.

Ask the mother who holds in her arms her boy, what her ideal is concerning him and she will tell you that she desires that his heart may be so pure that it could be laid upon a pillow and not to leave a stain; that his ambition may be so holy that it could be whispered in an angel's ear, and that his life may be so clean that his mother, his sister, his wife, his child, could read a record of its every thought and act

without a blush. But ask her if she will require this perfection in her son before she showers her love upon him, and she will answer "No." She will tell you that she will make him as good as she can; that she will follow his footsteps with a daily prayer; that in whatever land he wanders her blessings will abide with him; and that when he dies she'll hope, yes, hope that the world will be better than he has lived. This is all that she can do. All that any of us can do for ourselves or for others is the best that opportunity and circumstances permit.

From "Man."

Man's Unfinished Work

The development of the individual is never complete. Solomon describes the path of the just as "like the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day," and Holland, putting the same thought into verse, says:

"Heaven is not gained by a single bound.
We build the ladder by which we rise
From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies,
And mount to its summit round by round."

So with the work of government and the work of civilization. We find an unfinished work when we arrive; we leave the work unfinished when we are called hence. Each day marks out our duty for us, and it is for us to devote ourselves to it, whatever it may be, with high purpose and unflinching courage.

From "Man."

The Successful Life

Whether we live to enjoy the fruits of our efforts or lay down the work before the victory is won, we know that every well-spoken word has its influence; that no good deed is ever lost. And we know, also, that no one can count his life on earth as spent in vain if, when he departs, it can be said: *The night is darker because his light has gone out; the world is not so warm because his heart has grown cold in death.*

From "Man."

Socrates on Service

It always has been true; it is true today; it always will be true that he is greatest who does the most good. But if there is any one here who is not willing to accept Bible authority, I am glad that I can fortify this Scriptural quotation with the testimony of the greatest of heathen philosophers. In the conversations of Socrates I find that he quotes from another Greek the story of the choice of Hercules. The story runs like this: When Hercules was a young man he went out to meditate upon his course in life, and as he meditated two maidens appeared to him. One, in gaudy attire, said: "Hercules, if you will follow the path that I point out, your life will be a life of ease. You will have no troubles, no trials, no hardships; your whole time will be occupied in the selection of food to eat and wine to drink." Hercules said to her: "What is your name?" and she replied "My name is Pleasure, but my enemies call me Vice." The other maiden said: "Hercules, I will not deceive you. If you follow the path that I point out, your life will be full of hardships, full of trials, full of great under-

takings, but, Hercules, it is the path that leads to immortality. If you would have people love you, you must serve them; if you would have your state honor you, you must confer some great benefit upon your state."

From "A Conquering Nation."

The Ethics of Accumulations

How much can a man rightfully collect from society?

Not more than he honestly earns. If he collects more than he earns he collects what some one else has earned—something to which he is not entitled.

And **how** much can a man honestly earn? Not more than fairly measures the value of the service that he renders to society. One cannot *earn* money without giving an equivalent service in return. That *each individual member of society is entitled to draw from the common store in proportion as he contributes to the common welfare* is the most fundamental of economic laws. He suffers injustice if he is denied this; he does injustice if he secures more.

If one desires to collect largely from society he must be prepared to render a large service to society; and our schools and colleges, our churches and all other organizations for the improvement of man have for one of their chief objects the enlargement of the capacity for service.

There is an apparent exception in the case of an inheritance, but it is not a real exception, for if the man who leaves the money has honestly earned it, he has already given society a service of equivalent value and, therefore, has a right to distribute it. And money received by inheritance is either payment for

service already rendered, or payment in advance for service to be rendered. No right-minded person will accept money, even by inheritance, without recognizing the obligation it imposes to render a service in return. This service is not always rendered to the one from whom this money is received, but often to society in general. In fact, most of the blessings which we receive come to us in such a way that we cannot distinguish the donors and must make our return to the whole public.

But I need not dwell upon this, because in this country more than anywhere else in the world we appreciate the dignity of labor and understand that it is honorable to serve. And yet there is room for improvement, for all over our land there are, scattered here and there, young men and young women—and even parents—who still think that it is more respectable for a young man to spend in idleness the money some one else has earned than to be himself a producer of wealth. And as long as this sentiment is to be found anywhere there is educational work to be done, for public opinion will never be what it ought to be until it puts the badge of disgrace upon the idler, no matter how rich he may be, rather than upon the man who with brain or muscle contributes to the Nation's wealth, the Nation's strength and the Nation's progress. But, as I said, the inheritance is an apparent, not an actual, exception, and we will return to the original proposition—that one's earnings must be measured by the service rendered. This is so important a proposition that I beg leave to dwell upon it a moment longer, to ask whether it is possible to fix in dollars and cents a maximum limit to the amount one can earn in a lifetime.

Let us begin with one hundred thousand dollars.

If we estimate a working life at thirty-three years—and I think this is a fair estimate—a man must earn a little more than three thousand dollars per year for thirty-three years to earn one hundred thousand dollars in a lifetime. I take it for granted that no one will deny that it is possible for one to earn this sum by rendering a service equal to it in value. What shall we say of a million dollars? Can a man earn that much? To do so he must earn a little more than thirty thousand dollars a year for thirty-three years. Is it possible for one to render so large a service? I believe that it is. Well, what shall we say of ten millions? To earn that much one must earn on an average a little more than three hundred thousand a year for thirty-three years. Is it possible for one to render a service so large as to earn so vast a sum? At the risk of shocking some of my radical friends I am going to affirm that it is possible. But can one earn a hundred million? Yes, I believe that it is even possible to serve society to such an extent as to earn a hundred million in the span of human life, or an average of three million a year for thirty-three years. We have one man in this country who is said to be worth five hundred million. To earn five hundred million one must earn on an average fifteen million a year for thirty-three years. Is this within the range of human possibility? I believe that it is. Now, I have gone as high as any one has yet gone in collecting, but if there is any young man with an ambition to render a larger service to the world, I will raise it another notch, if necessary, to encourage him. So almost limitless are the possibilities of service in this age that I am not willing to fix a maximum to the sum a man can honestly and legitimately earn.

Man's Earning Power

Not only do I believe that a man can earn five hundred million, but I believe that men have earned it. I believe that Thomas Jefferson earned more than five hundred millions. The service that he rendered to the world was of such great value that had he collected for it five hundred millions of dollars, he would not have been overpaid. I believe that Abraham Lincoln earned more than five hundred millions, and I could go back through history and give you the name of man after man who rendered a service so large as to entitle him to collect more than five hundred millions from society—inventors, discoverers, and those who have launched great economic, educational and ethical reforms. But if I presented a list containing the name of every man, who, since time began, earned such an enormous sum, one thing would be true of all of them, namely: That in not a single case did the man collect the full amount. *The men who have earned five hundred million dollars have been so busy earning it that they have not had time to collect it; and the men who have collected five hundred millions have been so busy collecting it that they have not had time to earn it.*

From "The Price of a Soul."

The Deceitfulness of Riches

In that wonderful parable of the sower, Christ speaks of the seeds that fell where the thorns sprang up and choked them, and He Himself explained what He meant by this illustration, namely: *That the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth.* If the great benefactors of the race had

been burdened with the care of big fortunes, they could not have devoted themselves to the nobler things that gave them a place in the affection of their people and in history.

From "The Price of a Soul."

Dependently Rich

We speak of people being independently rich. That is a mistake; they are dependently rich. The richer a man is the more dependent he is—the more people he depends upon to help him collect his income, and the more people he depends upon to help him spend his income.

From "The Price of a Soul."

The Burden of Wealth

Jefferson did not collect all he earned; in fact, he began public life well to do for a man of that period, and died poor—impoverished by visits of those who called to tell him how much they loved him and how much they appreciated his work. Lincoln did not collect the full amount; neither Jefferson nor Lincoln would have cared to collect five hundred million. What would either one have done with such a sum? Or, what is more important, what would five hundred millions of dollars have done with Jefferson or Lincoln?

From "The Price of a Soul."

Vain Search for Peace

But what has been the experience of those who have been eminently successful in finance? They all tell the same story, viz., that they spent the first

half of their lives trying to get money from others and the last half trying to keep others from getting their money, and that they found peace in neither half.

From "The Prince of Peace."

World Needs Men More than Money

What the world needs is not a few men of great wealth, doling out their money in anticipation of death—what the world needs is that these men should link themselves in sympathetic interest with struggling humanity and help to solve the problems of today, instead of creating problems for the next generation to solve.

From "The Price of a Soul." :

The Higher Plane

Gentlemen of the Convention: You think you can injure me by passing this resolution (condemning my position on bimetallism). You are playing in the basement of politics; there is a higher plane. If I am wrong in the position I have taken, I shall fall, even though you commend me; but if I am right, as I believe I am, I shall triumph yet, no matter how often you condemn me.

From speech at State Convention, 1893. :

(NOTE: The next year we obtained control of the state convention and continued in control of the party organization until 1916, when the wets won control on the liquor question.)

The Triumph of Truth

One can afford to be in a minority, but he can not afford to be wrong; if he is in a minority and right, he will some day be in the majority. If he is in the majority and wrong, he will some day be in the minority.

From "The Price of a Soul."

The Eternal Forces

With the orator and the statesman, however, breadth of sympathy is indispensable. We labor for those whom we love; no other motive is sufficient to direct a large life and nothing begets love but love itself. "They love him because he first loved them" can be said of all who have been loved by the people. Only when orators and statesmen devote themselves unselfishly to the welfare of the whole people do they link themselves to those eternal forces which give assurance of permanent progress. They enter into partnership with nature, as it were, and grow with the cause which they aid. We go out into the field and see that the germ of life in the grain of wheat sends its tiny roots down into the darkness to seek moisture from the soil and its tender blade upward to gather strength from the light, and that, conforming to the laws laid down for its growth, its stalk finally brings forth the ripened ear; we go out into the orchard and see a frail shoot develop into a stately tree whose spreading branches afford shade and whose fruit furnishes refreshment, and we know that back of the grain and the shoot are forces powerful beyond the ability of man to compute and constantly at work—forces that insure the annual return of seed time and harvest. We could not worship the Heavenly Father as we

do if, though providing so bountifully for our physical needs, He had failed to speak power as irresistible into the forces that lie back of those intellectual, economic, political and moral truths whose triumph is essential to man's highest welfare.

From Speech on "Sam Houston."

Lessons from Gray's Elegy

Mr. Connell: We now bring to a close this series of debates which was arranged by our committees. I am glad that we have been able to conduct these discussions in a courteous and friendly manner. If I have in any way offended you in word or deed I offer apology and express regret and as freely forgive. I desire to present to you in remembrance of these pleasant meetings this little volume because it contains "Gray's Elegy," in perusing which I trust you will find as much pleasure and profit as I have. It is one of the most beautiful and touching tributes to humble life that literature contains. Grand in its sentiment and sublime in its simplicity, we may both find in it a solace in victory or defeat. If success should crown your efforts in this campaign, and it should be your lot "Th' applause of list'ning senates to command," and I am left

"A youth to fortune and to fame unknown,"
forget not us who in the common walks of life perform
our part, but in the hour of your triumph recall the
lines:

"Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear, with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor."

If, on the other hand, by the verdict of my countrymen, I shall be made your successor, let it not be said of you:

“And melancholy marked him for her own,”
but find sweet consolation in the thought:

“Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”

But whether the palm of victory is given to you or to me, let us remember those of whom the poet says:

“Far from the madding crowd’s ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes never learn’d to stray;
Along the cool sequester’d vale of life
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.”

These are the ones most likely to be forgotten by the government. When the poor and the weak cry out for relief they, too, often hear no answer but “the echo of their cry,” while the rich, the strong, the powerful are given an attentive ear. For this reason is class legislation dangerous and deadly; it takes from those least able to lose and gives to those who are least in need. The safety of our farmers and our laborers is not in special legislation, but in equal and just laws that bear alike on every man. The great masses of our people are interested, not in getting their hands into other people’s pockets, but in keeping the hands of other people out of their pockets.

Let me in parting express the hope that you and I may be instrumental in bringing our government back to better laws which will give equal treatment without

regard to creed or condition. I bid you a friendly farewell.

From speech delivered in 1890 in presenting a copy of Gray's Elegy to the opposing candidate for congress at the close of a series of debates.

Agriculture

Before mentioning the modern improvements which add to the comfort of farm life, the agriculturist's place in the nation's economy and the advantages offered by the farm deserve attention. Of all the toilers the tiller of the ground is in closest touch with Mother Earth. He learns the secrets of Nature, watches the seasons, and is the alchemist at whose touch grass is transmuted into milk and meat, and rainfall into the syrup of the cane. He feeds the world and clothes it as well. If the farmers by concerted action were to take a year's vacation, the trader, the artisan, the teacher and the members of the learned professions would soon be petitioning upon bended knees for their return to work. Those who are content to live without considering the source whence come the necessaries of life scarcely realize how dependent they are upon the farmer's brain and muscle. If the steak is tender it is because the farmer has by a wise selection cultivated good breeds, raised nutritious food, and, despite the heat or cold, brought the food in proper quantity and proportion to the animals whose flesh supplies the table. The flour in the bread is made from wheat that has to be sown and harvested, threshed and delivered at the railway station before it passes between the stones at the mill. The sugar that sweetens the tea and the coffee has its story to tell of the farmer's care and constancy, while the early vegetables testify to his vigi-

lance and industry. And yet many who "fare sumptuously every day" give little thought to the farmer's labors.

Not only is the farmer the firm foundation upon which all other classes rest, but his vocation gives the broadest training to the three-fold man. If civilization can be defined as the harmonious development of the human race, physically, mentally, and morally, then agriculture is truly a civilizing agency. The field is better equipped than the gymnasium with the appliances necessary for physical training. All the muscles of the body are brought into play, and the air has a freshness and a wholesomeness that no system of ventilation can provide. The resident of the city finds that his daily exercise not only costs him money but costs him time, and he often takes it grudgingly and from a sense of duty. The farmer finds his exercise both useful and profitable. In the city there is little that a boy can do; on the farm there is employment for persons of every age—employment that does not overtax their strength and need not trespass upon their school hours.

That the farm gives a good foundation for mental training is evident to any one who has compared the school records of country boys with the school records of the boys in the cities. Habits of application, of industry and of thoroughness in school come naturally enough to one who has been trained to farm work. Not only does the farm furnish mental athletes for the city, but the average farmer possesses more information of general value than the average resident of a city. If he has not always read the latest fiction or the most sensational criminal news, he has generally read something fully as useful. The long evenings of the winter, the rainy days of the summer,

and the Sabbath days throughout the year give him many hours for reading, and while at work he has more time for meditation and for the digestion of what he reads than those employed at other kinds of labor.

He is not afflicted with insomnia nor troubled with nervous prostration. He has the "sound mind in the sound body" which has been sought in every age.

To an even greater extent is the farmer's occupation conducive to moral development. Bondaref, a Russian author much praised by Tolstoy, says: "It is physically impossible that true religious knowledge or pure morality should exist among any classes of a nation, who do not work with their hands for their bread." To the farmer the miracle is of daily occurrence. The feeding of a multitude with a few loaves and fishes can not mystify one who every spring watches the earth's awakening and estimates the millions who are to be supplied by the chemistry of the vegetable. Resurrection and immortality are easily understood by one who sees a harvest spring from buried grain, and the fruits of a new birth are easily comprehended by one who has watched the earth grow verdant beneath the smiles of a summer's sun. The parables of Christ, taken from every-day life, makes plain to the farmer the Divine philosophy. He reads of the sower, and his own experience furnishes a parallel. He knows, too, how a tiny seed can grow into a great tree, and he has seen the tares side by side with the wheat. He is often called upon to exercise patience with the barren tree, and his faith increases as he follows the blade through all the stages of its development until he sees "the full corn in the ear."

From Magazine Article on "Agriculture."

Sunrise in the Himalayas

But to return to the mountains themselves; the view from Darjeeling is unsurpassed. The Kinchinjunga Peaks rise to a height of 28,156 feet above the sea, or nearly twice as high as Pike's Peak, and although forty-five miles distant, are clear and distinct. The summits, seen above the clouds, seem to have no terrestrial base, but hang as if suspended in mid air. The best view is obtained from Tiger Hill, six miles from Darjeeling at an altitude of nine thousand feet. We made this trip one morning, rising at three o'clock and reaching the observation point a little before sunrise. I wish I were able to convey to the reader the impression made upon us.

While all about us was yet in darkness, the snowy robe which clothes the upper twelve thousand feet of the range, caught a tint of pearl from the first rays of the sun, and, as we watched, the orb of day, rising like a ruby globe from a lake of dark blue mist, gilded peak after peak until at last we saw Mt. Everest, earth's loftiest point, one hundred and twenty miles away and nearly a thousand feet higher than Kinchinjunga. We saw the shadows fleeing from the light like hunted culprits and hiding in the deep ravines, and we marked the triumph of the dawn as it swept down the valleys.

How puny seem the works of man when brought into comparison with majestic nature! His groves, what pigmies when measured against the virgin forest! His noblest temples, how insignificant when contrasted with the masonry of the hills! What canvas can imitate the dawn and sunset! What inlaid work can match the mosaics of the mountains!

Is it blind chance that gives these glimpses of the

sublime? And was it blind chance that clustered vast reservoirs about inaccessible summits and stored water to refresh the thirsty plains through hidden veins and surface streams?

No wonder man from the beginning of history has turned to the heights for inspiration, for here is the spirit awed by the infinite and here one sees both the mystery of creation and the manifestations of the Father's loving-kindness. Here man finds a witness, unimpeachable though silent, to the omnipotence, the omniscience and the goodness of God.

Extract from Article on Eastern India.

Grand Canyon

There are "sermons in stones" and the stones of this canyon preach many impressive ones. They not only testify to the omnipotence of the Creator but they record the story of a stream which both molds and is molded by, its environment. It can not escape from the walls of its prison and yet it has made its impress upon the granite as, in obedience to the law of gravitation, it has gone dashing and foaming on its path to the sea.

How like a human life! Man, flung into existence without his volition, bearing the race-mark of his parents, carrying the impress of their lives to the day of his death, hedged about by an environment that shapes and molds him before he is old enough to plan or choose, how these constrain and hem him in! And yet he, too, leaves his mark upon all that he touches as he travels, in obedience to his sense of duty, the path that leads from the cradle to the grave. But here the likeness ends. The Colorado, pure and clear in the mountains, becomes a dark and muddy flood before it reaches the ocean, so contaminated is it by

the soil through which it passes; but man, if controlled by a noble purpose and inspired by high ideals, may purify, rather than be polluted by, his surroundings, and by resistance to temptation make the latter end of his life more beautiful even than the beginning.

The river also teaches a sublime lesson of patience. It has taken ages for it to do its work and in that work every drop of water has played its part. It takes time for individuals or groups of individuals to accomplish a great work and because time is required those who labor in behalf of their fellows sometimes become discouraged. Nature teaches us to labor and to wait. Viewed from day to day the progress of the race is imperceptible; viewed from year to year, it can scarcely be noted, but viewed by decades or centuries the upward trend is apparent, and every good work and word and thought contributes toward the final result. As nothing is lost in the economy of nature, so nothing is lost in the social and moral world. As the stream is composed of an innumerable number of rivulets, each making its little offering and each necessary to make up the whole, so the innumerable number of men and women who recognize their duty to society and their obligations to their fellows are contributing according to their strength to the sum total of the forces that make for righteousness and progress.

From "The Wonders of the West," an article published in The Commoner, Oct. 7, 1904.

At Graduation

We launch our vessels upon the uncertain sea of life alone, yet, not alone, for around us are friends who anxiously and prayerfully watch our course.

They will rejoice if we arrive safely at our respective havens, or weep with bitter tears, if, one by one, our weather-beaten barks are lost forever in the surges of the deep.

We have esteemed each other, loved each other, and now must from each other part. God grant that we may all so live as to meet in the better world, where parting is unknown.

Halls of learning, fond Alma Mater, farewell. We turn to take one "last, long, lingering look" at thy receding walls. We leave thee now to be ushered out into the varied duties of active life.

However high our names may be inscribed upon the gilded scroll of fame, to thee we all honor give, to thee all praises bring. And when, in after years, we're wearied by the bustle of a busy world, our hearts will often long to turn and seek repose beneath thy sheltering shade.

From valedictory oration at commencement of Illinois College, June, 1881.

To Neighbors

My friends, I am at the end of my third presidential campaign. Tomorrow, 15,000,000 voters will decide whether I am to occupy the seat that Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln occupied. You will have your part in my victory or in my defeat. It may be that the election will turn on Nebraska, and it may be that Nebraska will turn on votes, so few in number that the city of Lincoln may decide the result. If fate decrees that my name shall be added to the list of presidents, and Nebraska added to the list of states that have furnished presidents, I shall rejoice with you. If, on the other hand, the

election shall be against me, I can feel that I have left nothing undone that I could have done to bring success to my cause. And I shall find private life so full of joy that I shall not miss the presidency.

I have been a child of fortune from my birth. God gave me into the keeping of a Christian father and a Christian mother. They implanted in my heart the ideals that have guided my life. When I was in law school, I was fortunate enough, as I was in my college days, to fall under the influence of men of ideals who helped to shape my course; and when but a young man, not out of college yet, I was guided to the selection of one who, for twenty-four years, has been my faithful helpmate. No presidential victory could have brought her to me, and no defeat can take her from me. I have been blessed with a family. Our children are with us to make glad the declining years of their mother and myself. When you first knew me, they called me, in derision, "The Boy Orator of the Platte." I have outlived that title, and my grandchildren are now growing up about me. I repeat, that I have been fortunate, indeed. I have been abundantly rewarded for what little I have been able to do, and my ambition is not so much to hold any office, however great, as it is to know my duty and to do it, whether in public life or as a private citizen.

If I am elected, I shall be absent from you but four years. If I am defeated, you will help me to bear my defeat. And I assure you that the affection that my countrymen have shown is to me dearer than all earthly office. I shall be content, if I can deserve the continuation of that affection. I have been touched by the demonstrations that have been given in other parts of the country, but in twelve years and in three campaigns, I have never had a welcome anywhere

more generous, more enthusiastic than you have given in Lincoln tonight.

From Speech Concluding Campaign of 1908.

Truth Irresistible

In view of the triumph of the principles and policies for which the democracy of Nebraska has contended for so many years I beg to offer, as my contribution to your intellectual feast, a very appropriate sentiment expressed in most felicitous language by James Russell Lowell:

“Get but the truth once uttered, and it is like a star new born, that drops into its place, and which, once circling in its placid round, not all the tumult of the earth can shake.”

From message to Birthday Banquet, 1914.

A Call to Action

The leaders of the party must keep step with the rank and file, swept along by the progressive spirit of the day and inspired by the impressive sentiment expressed by Byron:

“The dead have been awakened—shall I sleep?

The world’s at war with tyrants—shall I crouch?

The harvest’s ripe—and shall I pause to reap?

I slumber not—the thorn is in my couch.

Each day a trumpet soundeth in mine ear,

Its echo in my heart.”

From speech at Washington Banquet, 1912.

A Passage from Pericles

Pericles, in speaking of those who fell in the Peloponnesian war, lauding the loyalty of his countrymen, said:

“It was for such a country, then, that these men, nobly resolving not to have it taken from them, fell fighting, and every one of their survivors may be willing to suffer in its behalf.”

The strength of a nation does not lie in forts, nor in navies, nor yet in great standing armies, but in happy and contented citizens, who are ever ready to protect for themselves and to preserve for posterity the blessings which they enjoy.

From Arlington Memorial Address.

Duty to Country

“Who saves his country, saves himself, and all things saved do bless him; who lets his country die, lets all things die, dies himself ignobly, and all things, dying, curse him.”

Ben Hill.

Building for All Time

“Time is on our side. It is better to write one word on the rock than a thousand on the water or the sand.”

William Ewart Gladstone.

Index to Publications

After each extract will be found a reference to the speech in which the quoted passage appears. Below, the reader will find information as to publications which contain speeches entire:

The First Commandment	} <i>Published in separate volumes by the Fleming H. Revell Company.</i>
The Fruits of the Tree	
The Making of a Man	
The Message from Bethlehem	
The Prince of Peace	
The Royal Art	

Man	} <i>Published separately, and in a collection of Mr. Bryan's speeches, by Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.</i>
The Prince of Peace	
The Price of a Soul	

The following from which extracts are taken will be found in full in the two-volume set of Mr. Bryan's speeches published by Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

- Acceptance Speech (1896)
- Acceptance Speech (1900) (Imperialism)
- Acceptance Speech (1908)
- America's Mission
- Bimetalism, Speech on, in Congress, 1893
- Chicago Association of Commerce, Speech before, 1908
- Chicago Convention, 1896
- Conservation, Speech at the White House, May 15th, 1908
- County Option Speech, 1910
- Cuban Republic, Birth of
- Faith, Address on
- Graduation Oration
- Havana, Cuba, Speech at, 1902
- Labor Day Speech, at Chicago
- London Fourth of July Speech
- London Peace Conference Speech
- London Thanksgiving Day Speech
- Money, Speech on, 1894
- Naboth's Vineyard
- New York Reception, Speech at, 1906
- St. Louis' Convention, Speech at, 1904

Index to Publications—*Cont.*

Tariff, Speech on, in Congress, 1892
Tariff, Speech at Des Moines, 1908
Trust Question, Speech on, 1908
Tokyo, Japan, Speech at the Ambassador's Dinner, 1905
Value of an Ideal, Lecture on

The following speeches from which quotations have been made will be found in full in the *Commoner*.

Birthday Banquet, Speech at Lincoln
Campaign Speech (1916)
East India Article (1906)
Houston Sam, Speech on
Lake Mohonk Speech (1916)
Prohibition Speech (1916)
St. Louis' Convention Speech (1916)
Total Abstinence Speech, at New York (1915)
War in Europe and its Lesson for Us, The (1916)
Washington Banquet, Speech at (1912)
Washington Banquet, Speech at (1916)

The following quotations give the speech in full:

Agriculture
Baltimore Convention Speeches (1912)
Christian's Reasons, The
Christmas Thought, A
Co-operation, Speech on, at Latin-American Conference
Grand Canyon, The
Grave of a Friend, By the (1903)
Gray's Elegy, Speech Presenting (1890)
High School Students, To, at Boston (1916)
Mother Argument, The
Neighbors, To (1908)
New Year's Resolve
Resignation, Statements Issued at the Time of
Riley Day Address (1916)
Silent Blackmailer, The
Socrates on Service (A Conquering Nation)

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